000 The Group Called Pahouin (Fang-Bulu-Beti) /Le Groupe dit Pahouin (Fang-Boulou-Beti)/

Pierre Alexandre and Jacques Binet

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/title page/

/v/ Preface

000 Since 1945 the International African Institute has been engaged in the preparation and publication of a series of ethnographic studies of Africa, with the purpose of presenting in convenient form a summary of contemporary knowledge about the various African peoples, as to natural environment, economy and industries, social structure, political organization, religious beliefs and rituals. The material that has already been published provides a basis for these studies, and numerous unpublished documents derived from administrative reports and from the archives of missionary societies are being put to use in the same way as are field observations and special communications by ethnologists and qualified persons. Each volume in this series is devoted to a people, or group of related peoples, and contains a detailed bibliography and a map.

The committee for the series was set up under the chairmanship of /the late/ Professor Radcliffe-Brown; the director of the Institute is in charge of editorial organization. The generous cooperation of many research institutes and administrative officers in Europe and in the African countries has been promised, as have the services of experienced ethnologists.

120 The work was undertaken with the aid of a subsidy from United Kingdom Colonial Development and Welfare Funds on the recommendation of the Social Science Research Council /of the Colonial Office/. This subsidy has been employed mainly, but not entirely, to finance studies dealing with countries under United Kingdom jurisdiction. An additional subsidy from the government of the /former/ Anglo-Egyptian Sudan contributed to the preparation and publication of the volumes devoted to that territory.

The Ministry of Oversea France and the Institut Français d'Afrique Noire /French Institute of Black Africa/ have shown interest in this undertaking, and thanks to their good offices subsidies have been granted by the governments of French West Africa and the French Cameroons toward the preparation and publication of volumes pertaining to those regions. These volumes have been edited by French ethnologists, with the assistance and advice of Professor Griaule of the Sorbonne and of Father Th. Monod, director of the Institut Français d'Afrique Noire.

000 The cooperation of Belgian authorities in this work was obtained through the courtesy of the late Father De Jonghe and secures the interest of the ethnological committee of the Royal Belgian Colonial Institute. The Institute for Scientific Research in Central Africa has also agreed to collaborate. Work in connection with countries under Belgian jurisdiction is being /vi/ carried out under the supervision of Father Olbrechts at the document center of the Musée du Congo Belge at Tervueren, where Mademoiselle Boone and members of her department are engaged incollecting and classifying materials concerned with the peoples of the Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi. They work closely with ethnologists in the field, to whom plans for publications are submitted for verification.

The International African Institute wishes to express gratitude to the official organizations whose financial assistance has made possible the carrying out of this work, and to the many scholars, directors of research organizations, administrative officers, missionaries, and others who have contributed and who, by providing facilities for research and by reading manuscripts, have a share in any achievement that may be ascribed to the authors of the different volumes.

Taking into consideration the fact that existing documents are not of equal value and also that they were compiled in a variety of ways —which has been one of the reasons for undertaking this project— it is obvious that these monographs cannot be looked upon as complete and definitive. It is hoped, however, that they will provide a reasonably clear account of our present state of knowledge and will indicate where gaps occur and where further research is necessary. /vii/

114 Pierre Alexandre made several field trips to Gabon and Spanish Guinea while carrying out official duties in the southern Cameroons from 1946 to 1951. Since 1955 he has been connected with the University of Paris as executive secretary of the Centre de Hautes Études d'Administration musulmane, (C. H. E. A. M.) /Center for Advanced Study in the Department of Moslem Affairs/.

Jacques Binet has also held an administrative post in the /French/ Cameroons, and since 1954 has been on the staff of the Office de la Recherche scientifique et technique outre-mer, (O. R. S. T. O. M.) /Bureau for Oversea Scientific and Technical Research/. He has carried out several missions in Pahouin country for the Conseil supérieur de la Recherche sociologique outre-mer /Higher Council for Oversea Sociological Research/, during the course of which he did research in juridical and economic sociology.

[illegible] The authors wish here to express their thanks to the authorities of French Equatorial Africa whose kind assistance made this book possible.

List of Tribal Names Occurring in Alexandre and Binet, Le Groupe Dit Pahouin (1)

|0| Akélé /Kalai (Akelle)?/
Asembé /Simba (Asimba)/
Ati
Babinga /Binga/
Babonté /Wute (Bafute)/
Babouté (Wutéré)
Badjué
Bafia /Fia/
Bajieli /Jelli (Badiele)/ /Pygmy, see Beye'ele/
Bajoué /Badjue/
Bakoko *
Bakota /Kota/
Bakwele /Kwele/
Balengi /Lengi (Balenge)?/
Bamiléke *
Bamoum /Mum/
Bamum /Mum/
Bamvele
Bané *
Bantu-Myéné
Bapounou /Puno (Bapuno)?/
Basa /Basa/
Basa-Bakoko /Basa-Bakoko/
Batchanga /Betchenga/ (Tsinga)
Batenga /Batanga?; hence Tanga?/
Bati *
Baya *
Bedzi (Betičhi)
Bekôé
Bele
Benga *
Béti
Betsi *
Beye'ele /Jelli (Bayele)/ /Pygmy, see Bajieli/
Bibaya
Bikélé *

6:Alexandre and Binet--∨ G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

|O| "Boulɛ́" (Boulou)
Boulou /Bulu/
Bundju
Duala •(Dawala /Diwala/)
Dzimou /Nzimu/
Dzimu /Nzimu/
Esel •
Eton •
Evuzok
Ewôndo
Fang • or Fan •
Fong
Fulbɛ́ /Fulani/
Galoa •
Jem /Dzem/
Kaka •
Kombe •
Konabembɛ́ /Konambembe/
Kozimɛ́
Kozimɛ́-Njem (or Jem) /Dzem/
Kumbe •
Mabea /Bea/
Maka •(Mekaɛ́)
Makɛ́
Mangisa
Mazouna
Mbida-Mbanɛ́
Medzimɛ́ /Ndsime (Medjimi, Megdsime)?/
Meka
Mekaɛ́
Mékɛ́
Mekei (Makei)
Mekina
Mekuk
Mvog-Nyenge
Mvaɛ́ •
"Mvègue" (Mvae?)
Mvélɛ́ •
Myénɛ́

|a| Ngoumba /Ngumba/
Ngumba *
Nkomi *
Ntoumou /Ntum/
Okak
Okande /Kanda/
Omvang
b-Osyéba /Osieba/
Ouroungou /Rungu (Orungu)/
Pahouin *
Pongoué /Mpongwe/
Pongwé /Mpongwe/
Séké *
Sonanke
Vili-Kongo /Vili/ /Kongo/
Wutéré (sing. Wuté) /Wute/
Yambasa /Yambassa/
Yanda
Yasum
Yebekanga
Yekaba
Yebekolo
Yelinda
Yembama
Yengono
Yesum
Yetudi
Zaman
Zimu /Nzimu/

1. Names in brackets / / are the equivalents used in Murdock's tribal list /George P. Murdock, *Africa: Its Peoples and their Culture History.* New York, 1959, pp. 425-456/. Those names asterisked are the same as those in Murdock's list, *op. cit.* This list was compiled by Mary Rouse, editor of the English translation.

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Chapter 1

Geographical Location and Climate

131 The Pahouin country covers about 180,000 square kilometers, from
the middle Sanaga (4° 30' N) to the mouth of the Ogooué (1° 20' S)
in latitude, from the Atlantic (9° 30' E) to the middle Sanga (14° E)
636 in longitude. The inhabitants are politically under the jurisdiction
of the Cameroons, Spanish Guinea, and French Equatorial Africa
(Gabon and Middle Congo).

133 The country appears essentially as a plateau of rocks, crystalline in the north, metamorphic in the south, with somewhat worn, intrusive domes, separated from the sea by a worn mountain range of rarely more than 1,000 meters cut by the gorges of coastal rivers. The mean altitude varies from 500 to 700 meters up to the deep fault of the lower Ogooué Valley.

The watershed between the Congo and the coastal river basins bends toward the southeast from the Nkolomendim (the mountain-of-the-waters) massif in the Sangmélima subdivision. The principal tributary of the Congo, by way of the Sanga, is the Dja (N'Goko). The principal coastal rivers are the Sanaga and the Nyong, the N'Tem (Campo), the Muni, and the Ogooué.

132 805 The climate is of the humid equatorial type, modified by the altitude and characterized by a double alternation of dry and rainy seasons. The time measure of the Pahouin is the mbu, about six lunar cycles (ngon), and the solar year is divided as follows: (1)

1. The dates are approximately valid for the Cameroons-Gabon border. The terms are in Boulou; in Fang they would be: oyum, sugha, or sughê.

mid-June to mid-December: ôyôn (little dry season) and su'u (great rainy season)

mid-December to mid-June: ésep (great dry season) sometimes characterized by bikone (small rains)

Mean temperatures and rainfall are indicated on the table on page 3.

137 The humidity promotes vigorous forest vegetation throughout almost the whole area under consideration: on the plateau, primary forest (afan) giving way to secondary forest of softwood and dense undergrowth (ékôtôk) (2); in the valley of the Ogooué there is swamp forest at Poto-poto /2/ and mangrove in the estuary. Only north of Yaoundé, in Beti country, is there park-savanna with gallery forest along the 134 tributaries of the Sanaga. Black earth with thick humus (évindisi) is found in the valley bottoms, with red earth in process of rapid lateritization (évelesi) predominating, especially in the north.

[31] [196] 2. In my view ékwotola or ékotok clearly denote secondary forest but of the brushwood variety, and, if I understand correctly, ékotok is used to describe fallow, land that has been cultivated and that is still more or less in use.

Secondary forest would be called afan, in which the nuance of cleared forest is lost.

Primary forest would be called mfun afan. (J.B.)

135 The minerals are: a medium grade of lateritic iron, which is fairly common; rutile /an ore of titanium/; a little placer gold; perhaps a little copper.

136 Wild fauna is still quite abundant in the less populated regions and is extremely varied. There are anthropoids (gorilla, chimpanzee, and perhaps a third species, ébôt, not described by French writers but listed by Du Chaillu and by certain German zoologists); elephant; hippopotamus (becoming extinct); manatee (nearly extinct); buffalo; many kinds of antelope, among which the great Cephalophus (sô) plays an important role in social and religious life; flying squirrels; earth hog; pangolins; river hog and forest pig; rock badger in the south; panthers; tiger cats; civet cat; otter, and parpassa /?/; various reptiles, among them python, Dendraspis, Bitis gabonica, and cobra; numerous diurnal and nocturnal birds of prey; touraco, toucan; Buceros; francolin; grey parrot; giant snail and fresh-water bivalves; fresh-water crabs and prawns; abundant siluroids; crocodiles; various insects, among them the goliath beetle, etc.

164 136 There are many parasites and insect vectors: dysenteric amoeba; ankylostoma; microfilaria; plasmodia; Trypanosoma (especially in the east); jigger flea; forest ticks and leeches are rather uncommon.

Mean Temperatures and Rainfall

Stations (1)	Coordinates (2)		I		II		III		IV		V		VI	
	Latitude	Longitude	T (3)	R (3)	T	R	T	R	T	R	T	R	T	R
Yaoundé ...	3°52' N	11°32' E	24.1	35	24.5	44	24.4	122	24.1	173	23.8	182	23.1	129
Ebolowa....	2°54' N	11°10' E	24.5	50	24.5	63	24.7	154	24.8	200	24.4	212	24.1	149
Oyem	1°45' N	11°41' E		75		94		189		202/		210		129
N'Djolé....	0°11' S	10°45' E		81		138		225		194		215		46
Lambaréné ..	0°42' S	10°13' E	26.6	136	26.7	197	27.1	268	27.5	193	26.6	180	24.6	16
Libreville ..	0°25' S	09°27' E	27.0	206	27.3	291	27.4	264	27.3	395	27.0	244	25.8	40

Stations (1)	VII		VIII		IX		X		XI		XII		Total Annual Rainfall (4)	Temperature Extremes (5)			
														Maxima		Minima	
	T	R	T (3)	R (3)	T	R	T	R	T	R	T	R		Months	Degrees	Months	Degrees
Yaoundé ...	22.3	37	22.4	97	22.8	206	23.0	283	23.5	119	23.8	11	1 138	Feb.	29.8	Aug.	18.6
Ebolowa ...	23.1	47	23.0	70	23.5	186	23.6	272	24.1	175	24.4	61	1 639	April	30.9	Oct.	18.2
Oyem		41		76		194		338		194		101	1 843				
N'Djolé....		3		6		63		334		271		133	1 709				
Lambaréné ..	23.3	2	23.7	5	25.2	75	25.9	363	26.0	404	26.2	142	1 981	April	32.2	July	19.7
Libreville ..	24.7	1	25.2	11	25.9	106	26.4	359	26.5	416	26.9	260	2 593	March	31.4	July	21.6

131 (1) Names of stations.

132 (2) Geographical co-ordinates of the stations.

(3) T: mean monthly temperature in degrees (general mean for the last 10 years). R: mean monthly rainfall in millimeters (general mean for the last 10 years).

(4) Total annual rainfall in millimeters, 1946-1955.

(5) Temperature extremes: maxima and minima during the year (mean for the last 10 years, months and degrees) (Oyem and N'Djolé, have only pluviometric posts).

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Chapter 2

Ethnological and Historical Position

1. Nomenclature

101 The term "Pahouin" is undoubtedly incorrect, but it is convenient. There exists in fact no African designation applicable to the whole of the group of peoples studied here. Some writers (Martrou, Trilles...) prefer to speak of the Fang or Fan group, which has the drawback of creating a confusion with the tribes properly called Fang, which constitute but a fraction of this group. That is why, along with Largeau, Tessmann, Madame Dugast, and others, I prefer to speak of the Pahouin.

It should be observed that this term, long taken amiss by the Africans, in recent years tends to be adopted by them in connection with the political regrouping of tribes, for the very reason that it

101 does not give prominence to any one of them. Thus the Mitzic
614 Conference in 1947, bringing together the Fang, Boulou /Bulu/, Ntoumou /Ntum/, Mvaé, and Fong, took the name Pahouin Conference, Ntoumou, Boulou, Mvaé, and Fong declining to be lumped together under the designation "Fang."

101 Even the origin of the word "Pahouin" is debatable. The most plausible hypothesis is that of Father Trilles, who derives it from m-fañ (radical fañ plus the singular classifier m/be) by way of Pongoué /Mpongwe/, which changes the F to P and is averse to ending

101 a word with a consonant. One would thus have *Mpa'ngwen, from which Europeans have made mpawen, then Pahouin.

About the term "Fang" itself it should be remarked that the regular form m-fañ (Class I or personal, m/be) is in actual fact hardly ever used by the Pahouin themselves, who prefer their usual ethnical constructions, that is, the radical preceded by mon (son, descendant). Thus one says mone fañ, bo' be fañ, like mon éwôndô, mone bulu (1), etc. The meaning of the word is obscure. It does not mean "man" (vir), which is fam, a mistake rightly /5/ noticed by Father Trilles, who nevertheless connects it with a root FA connoting the idea of virility, of violence (fa = machete, fañe = to do on purpose, intentionally, etc).

2. Various Groups and Territorial Distribution

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583 It is not easy to define the exact boundaries of the Pahouin group. The lists given by different authors include up to ten tribes, one way or another—thousands of individuals. At the end of the nineteenth century, penetration in extended order* prevented ascertaining

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104 1. I usually employ current Boulou orthography, except for words that have an official spelling in general use, like the names of places (Ebolowa, Ambam, not ébolewo'o, mbam) and certain Gallicized names of tribes (the Boulou, the Ntoumou, but Bulu /adjectival use/ Ntum /adjectival use/; the Fang, but the Fañ group). /The last phrase is meaningless for English, because there is no English equivalent for the distinction between capitalized French nouns of "nationality" and the corresponding noncapitalized substantive adjectives. Hence, in the English translation this distinction will be ignored, the official spelling being used for tribal names whether used as noun or adjective. —Ed./

It should be observed, by the way, that bulu and éwôndo are plurals of which the singular (*mulu, *ôwôndo) is not used.

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/* Ordre disperse (Military conception) = extended order. —Ed./

definite relationships. Later, on the other hand, the Pahouinization of neighboring tribes, subjugated or merely influenced, brought about assimilations that were often misleading.

Broadly speaking, we may say that a large body of invaders, rather recently come from the northeast—the Pahouin properly so called—assimilated through contacts on the one hand, some of the inhabitants of the invaded area, on the other hand, likewise assimilated other invaders who followed in their wake. What is certain is that this assimilation or Pahouinization of foreign tribes is going on at the present day, partly due to the mere fact of colonization.

We shall distinguish in this study between the invaders—Fang, Boulou, Beti—on the one hand, and, on the other, the neighboring populations that have been or are being Pahouinized.

A. The Invaders or True Pahouin

101 Theories as to their boundaries are too many and contradictory for all me to expatiate on here.

In Father Trilles' view they are divided into two branches: b-Osyéba /Osieba/ in the east, Fang in the west. The Mekuk are connected with the first, the Méké, Betsi, "Mvègne" (Mvaé?), and "Boulé" (Boulou) with the second. Largeau like Schnee bases his division between Bedzi (betschi) and Mekei (makei) on linguistic considerations; the first, in the west, tend to begin their remarks with the formula ma zô na, the second, in the east, with me ki na. Here there appears to be a partial confusion between the Pahouin properly speaking, and the Pahouinized Maka (Mekaé) (1). Madame Dugast

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1. There are indeed two Fang dialects, corresponding to the zô/ki (or ẑô/ki) criterion, but the people who speak them, all call themselves Fang. Besides, there is a Maka or Mekaé tribe whose language is close to eastern Fang, which it has perhaps influenced.

|o| very rightly points out that the problem is visibly complicated by the existence of reciprocal influences. I therefore suggest, with many reservations, an empirical classification based on the geographical position of the various tribes, the dialectical differences, and the reconcilable portions of traditions and genealogies, all together.

Thus there may be distinguished:

in the south: a Fang group, in the rather broad sense
in the north: a Beti group, perhaps more Pahouinized than Pahouin
between the two: a Boulou group /6/

a) The Fang group in the south would include:
- the Fang, properly so called, of the Ogooué Valley in the southern Cameroons
- the Ntoumou (or Ntum) in northern Gabon (Woleu-N'Tem), Spanish Guinea and the southern Cameroons (Ambam subdivision)
- the Mvaé, split into two blocks, to the east and west of the Ntoumou
- perhaps the Oyéba of the Ogooué-Ivindo region, nowadays merged with the eastern Fang

b) The Boulou group would include:
- the Boulou of the Sangmélima, Kribi, and Ebolowa (Cameroons) regions
- no doubt the Zaman of the valley of the Dja
- probably the Yengono, Yembama, and Yelinda of the Nyong Valley and the Okak of Spanish Guinea
- perhaps the Yesum, Yebekanga, Yebekolo /misprinted in text as Yekebolo/, and Mvélé (1)

1. The last, in spite of the similarity of name, are to be distinguished from the Bamvele or Bele and are to be connected with the Beti.

[m] The situation of the Beti is more obscure. They may perhaps have had a different origin from the true Pahouin, whom they would have followed in their migration toward the southwest. A striking cultural and linguistic likeness to the Fang is observed among certain tribes who are nevertheless separated from them geographically by the Boulou. This likeness disappears progressively as one moves northward. It might therefore be a question of some sort of intermediary

p/ grouping between the Bantu of the central Cameroons and the Pahouin.

However that may be, certain tribes cannot be studied except in connection with the true Pahouin:

the Ewondo of the Nyong-and-Sanaga region
the Bané of Nyong-and-Sanaga, N'Tem, and Dja-and-Lobo
the Fong of the Dja-and-Lobo and N'Tem (the last, moreover, influenced by the Boulou)
the Mbida-Mbané and Mvog-Nyenge, east of Yaoundé, who are probably descendants of prisoners-of-war of the preceding

The Eton of Saa and Obala may also be associated, but already with more difficulty, with the Ewondo, for instance. On the other hand, the other Beti tribes ought rather to be classed with the Pahouinized peoples discussed below.

B. Assimilated or Pahouinized Tribes

10/ FH 23 Among these we must distinguish those who were in the country at the arrival of the Pahouin from those that followed.

a) Tribes that followed the Pahouin invasion. These are fundamentally, as pointed out above, the Beti. According to Nekes, some of the tribes already mentioned still spoke an atí dialect at the time of the German conquest. At the present time one can point out as in the process of "Pahouinization" (Ewondo dialect):

[illegible]

The Mangisa, Yekaba, Bamvele, Evuzok, Batchanga /Betchenga/ (Tsinga), /?/ Omvang, and Yetudi of the Sanaga. On the other hand, the Beti of the right bank (Bati, Kombe, Bundju, etc.), also few in number, are more drawn toward the Baboute /Wute/, Bafia /Fia/, etc.

b) Aboriginal tribes or tribes established before the Pahouin invasion. There is reason to treat separately the Pygmy groups (Bibaya, Babinga, Beye'ele) and mixed populations (Bekoé) who live symbiotically with the Pahouin without by this fact being really absorbed.

The Pahouin invasion seems to have come on a country occupied by two Bantu groups come from the east several centuries before, which it drove back either toward the sea or toward the present eastern boundary of the Cameroons.

The first of these would have been the Maka and Ngoumba /Ngumba/ group, which was cut in half by the invasion, Maka on the

101 east, Ngoumba and Mabéa /Bea/ on the west. The Maka (more cor-
114 rectly Mekaé) have been to a large extent absorbed by the invaders,
583 to the point of being confused with them by several authors.

The second group would have been the Kozimé-Njem (or Jem) /Dzem/, Dzimou /Nzimu/, Bajoué /Badjue/ of nearby origin and likewise absorbed to the point of being confused with the true Pahouin group.

3. Neighboring Populations

As I have already pointed out in connection with the Pahouinized peoples, the Pahouin are literally submerged in a Bantu mass.

Their neighbors to the north, on the right bank of the Sanaga, are those whom Madame Dugast calls the Bantu of the central Cameroons. This represents an extremely heterogeneous group, including tribes that claim to be aboriginal along with others that say they are immigrants, with a linguistic, anthropological, and cultural network that effectively prevents any exact classification. The two main tribes contiguous with the Beti-Pahouin are the Bafia and Yambasa /Yambassa/.

Immediately to the east of the above tribes, still in the Sanaga Valley, are the Wutéré (sing. Wuté) /Wute/ known to the colonial administration by their Bantu name of "Baboute /Bafute/." They are Sudanese, and it seems likely that it was on account of direct pressure from them that the Pahouin crossed the Sanaga.

To the west of the Yambasa-Bafia, the Sanaga Valley is occupied by the Basa-Bakoko group on both banks. These tribes are difficult to classify. They must certainly be Bantu. Some writers group them under the name Baso; others connect the Basa /Bassa/ with the central Cameroons, Bantu and the Bakoko with the Beti, even with the Pahouin, to whom they in fact show some cultural resemblances.

Along the coast there are Bantu groups: on the coastal range the Ngumba and Mabéa related to the Mekaé mentioned above; on the coastal plain the Duala group, with the Duala (Dawala /Diwala/), properly speaking, the Batenga, and the Kumbé. The Balengi /Lengi (Balenge) ?/ in Spanish Guinea are probably related either to the Mabéa or to the /8/ Duala. In Gabon the Pongoué (Mpongwé) are a residual Bantu-Myéné group, entirely isolated in the midst of the Fang.

To the east of the Cameroons Pahouin, on the left bank of the Dja, the Mekaé, Badjué, Dzimu /Nzimu/, and Jem are, I repeat, 171 53 Pahouinized to the point of finding themselves mixed with the Pahouin of the Middle Congo. This mingling is still going on at the present time among the other tribes of the Kozimé group and specifically among the Konabembé /Konambembe/, Esel (1), and Medzimé

[117]

1. The Esel require two comments: first, they appear to speak a language very close to Duala; second, they have the same name as one of the principal Pahouin clans.

/Ndsime (Medjimi, Mendzime)?/. All these tribes, coming from the northeast (Mekaé) or southeast (Kozimé), and Bantu-speakers, formerly had a much more extensive habitat to the west and north, whence they were driven back toward the south by the Baya and Kaka, and toward the east by the Pahouin.

The Bakwelé /Kwele/ of the Middle Congo apparently may also be connected with the Kozimé and, like them, may be considered Pahouinized. They were pushed back onto the left bank of the Ivindo at a comparatively recent date, like their neighbors to the south, the Bakota /Kota/ and the Okandé /Kanda/. The Séké and Akélé /Kalai (Akalle)?/ of the lower Ogooué are probably related to them.

Finally, the Pongwé /Mpongwe/—already mentioned—the Ouroungou /Rungu (rungu)/, Bapounou /Puno (Bapuno)?/, Galoa, and Nkomi of the lower Ogooué probably belong to an intermediary group between the Bantu of the northwest (Duala and coastal group) and the Vili-Kongo in the south (Baumann), the Myéné group. These tribes not long ago occupied most of the territory of the true Fang, whence they have been forced back for a century by the Pahouin invasion, which did not reach the sea until 1890-1900. The Benga (coastal Bantu) and Pongwé of Libreville, isolated in the midst of the Fang, the Ouroungou, Séké, Asembé, Galoa, and Bapounou of Port Gentil and Lambaréné are the last non-Pahouin peoples in existence on the right bank of the Ogooué. The Fang have, it must be added, a solid bridgehead on the left bank in N'Djolé District.

We must remember that throughout Pahouin country there are groups of Pygmies, whose status will be discussed further on.

4. Survey of Demography

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In addition to the usual reasons for lack of precision in demographic data, common to all the African territories (absence or inadequacy of a registery office, weak administrative structure, especially in the medical branch), there is in relation to the Pahouin group the fact of their belonging politically to four territories, of which one is not French.

For the southern Cameroons we have at our disposal good census returns and competent, up-to-date medical information issued periodically as a result of the obligation to furnish reports at regular intervals to the League of Nations and then to the United Nations. The heads of mobile teams of the S. H. M. P. /?/, which have been especially well staffed since Dr. Jamot's campaign, collect during each tour anthropological information /9/ as satisfactory as their multiple duties and the intellectual and social level of the surveyed areas allow. The military personnel provided in varying proportions by the territorial administration permitted many colonial officials, particularly before and during the last war, to make individual studies, often detailed, such as those of E. André on the demographic development of the Ntoumou of Ambam.

The situation is less satisfactory in French Equatorial Africa. First of all the Federation government has never, like that of the Cameroons, had to arrange for regular reports to be submitted to international agencies. Furthermore—and especially—meager budgets have often forced the administration to assign territorial commands—whose headquarters and location have many times been changed—to junior officers or to subordinate civil servants lacking the necessary training for profitable work in this field and hampered, moreover, by the very size of the thinly populated districts. For a long time only approximate estimates were available for Gabon and the Middle Congo, erring mostly on the side of administrative optimism, in no way motivated by scientific considerations. The situation has greatly improved since 1946, but the imaginary character or inadequacy of earlier data may well falsify the conclusions to a considerable extent (1).

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1. Cf. Sautter, L'utilisation des documents administratifs pour l'etude de la population du Moyen-Congo et du Gabon /Utilization of

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administrative documents for population study in the Middle Congo and Gabon/, *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Études centrafricaines*, 1954, Nos. 7-8; Ziegle, *Afrique équatoriale française* /French Equatorial Africa/, Berger-Levrault, Paris, 1952, p. x; Chrisol, *Un essai de fichier demographique au Cameroun* /An Attempt at Demographic Classification in the Cameroons/, *Bulletin mensuel de statistique d'Outre-mer*, 1951, No. 20.

Finally, for Spanish Guinea the sources are rather inaccessible and of very uneven value. The best are probably the reports submitted by the scientific expedition of 1948 organized by the /Spanish/ Department for Morocco and the Colonies, of which the Anthropological Commission apparently made a study of demographic development in collaboration with the colony's health service: these reports I have not been able to obtain. The fiscal census carried out by Civil Guard officers in command of the "*Demarcaciones* /Demarcations/" seems to be considered a state secret; the census returns prepared by the Roman Catholic missions appear unreliable. If one accepts the total population figure given by official statistics, supposedly 172,000 persons, it would be necessary to put the number of "Pamue" (the Spanish form of *mpangwé*) at about 50 percent of that total. Estimates made during the recent war by civil administrators and frontier officers of Gabon and the Cameroons are much lower, giving a total of about 130,000 inhabitants, 50,000 to 60,000 of whom were Pahouin. Likewise, Spanish medical reports seem to be colored with a possible excessive optimism, attributing specially to biological causes a rise in population that results mainly from immigration.

In conclusion, the lack of agreement about even the composition of the Pahouin group makes the figures vary greatly, whether round estimates /10, table on pp. 12a-12e/ or genuine demographic indices. Thus we meet with totals that vary from 650,000 to 1,500,000 Pahouin, with the differential index clearly positive or clearly negative according to the writer.

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My own estimate of about 820,000 takes account of Pahouin only in the strict sense and leaves out the tribes whose affiliation is debatable (1). This group as a whole is growing slightly (the differential

Demographic Situation

Territory		Tribe	Habitat	Number	Density	Demographic Data
Cameroons	(Beti)	Ewondo	Nyong-and-Sanaga region (S.)	95, 000	20. 1	D. I. : +0. 2 % I. M. : 30 % G. C. : 3. 06.
		Bané	S. Nyong-and-Sanaga N. N'Tem and Dja-and-Lobo	60, 000	21. 5	D. I. : +0. 2 % G. C. : 4. 7.
		Fong	N. N'Tem-Dja-and-Lobo	13, 000	6. 9	D. I. : 0. 77 % S. : 25. 6 % G. C. : 5. 3.
		Eton	N. Nyong-and-Sanaga	112, 000	44. 3	No recent accurate data. D. I. : > +1 % Population on the increase.
		Mbida Mbané.	S. E. Nyong-and-Sanaga	20, 000	12. 8	D. I. : + 0. 68 % S. : 7 % G. C. : 5. 20 %
		Mvog Nyengé.	S. E. Nyong-and-Sanaga	7, 000	10. 6	D. I. : +0. 39 % S. : 9 % S. B. : 26. 9 % G. C. : 4. 25.

Cameroons		Mangisa. . .	N. Nyong-and-Sanaga	15,000	46.2	No recent accurate data. D.I. : positive.
		Yekaba . . .	N. Nyong-and-Sanaga	14,000	9.2	D.I. : —4.4 %. I.M. : 34.3 %. S. : 33.9 %. G.C. : 4.5. S.B. : 10 %.
	(Probable Beti)	Bamvelé . . . (Belé)	E. Nyong-and-Sanaga W. Lom and Kadéï (Nanga, Bertoua)	25,000	10	No data.
		Evuzok . . .	Scattered (Lolodorf)	5,000	?	No data.
		Tsinga . . .	Scattered (M'Bam, Nyong-and-Sanaga)	16,000	?	D.I. : +1.4 %.
		Miscellaneous		20,000		
		Total Cameroons Beti		401,000		
		Boulou	N'Tem, Dja-and-Lobo, Kribi	100,000	9.9	D.I. : +0.30 %. S. : 7 %. G.C. : 4.12.

Cameroons	(Bulu)	Zaman . . .	E. Dja-and-Lobo (Dja Valley)	1,500		D.I. : negative. S. : > 25 %.
		Yengono . .	S.E. Nyong-and-Sanaga (Akonolinga)	13,000	7.5	D.I. : + 0.63 %. S. : 9 %. G.C. : 3.47.
		Yembama .				D.I. : 0.70 %. S. : 16 %. G.C. : 3.97.
		Yelinda. . .				D.I. : −0.1 %. S. : 18 %. G.C. : 3.30.
	(Supposedly related to the Boulou)	Yesoum . .	N. Nyong-and-Sanaga	9,000	4.2	D.I. : −2.6 %. S. : 25.53 %. G.C. : 3.4.
		Yebekanga .				
		Yebekolo. .	E. Nyong-and-Sanaga (Akonolinga)	23,000	11.9	D.I. : faintly positive.
		Mvelé . . .	E. Yaoundé	37,000	15.3	D.I. : −0.21 %.
		Total Cameroons Boulou . . .		184,000		

(Fañ)	Fang.	Kribi, N'Tem, Dja and Lobo (scattered)	13, 000	2	D.L. : +0.03 %. S. : 7 %. G.C. : 3.8.
	Ntum		17, 000	9.8	D.I. : 1.53 %. S. : 12 %. G.C. : 4.6.
	Mvaé		6, 000	5.8	D.I. : +0.69 %. S. : 15.2 %. G.C. : 4.3.
	Total Fañ		36, 000		
	Total Cameroons . . .		623, 000	Not including "assimilated" tribes in the east (Mekaé-Kozimé).	
Spanish Guinea	Ntum	Along N. border (Ebebiyín)	20, 000	4	Approximate estimate based on French colonial archives. According to some reports, to this should be added about 6, 000 Pahouin emigrants from French colonial territories, especially Gabon. The given numbers represent the minima.
	Mvaé	N. border (Minkomesen)	1, 000		
	Fang	S. E.	30, 000		
	Okak	Center	4, 000		
	Total Spanish Guinea		55, 000		

Gabon	Ntum . . .	Woleu-N'Tem (especially Bitam)	15,000	5 to 1	D. I. : slightly positive. High sterility rate. Proportion of children: about 30%.
	Bakwélé . .	Makokou	3,000		
	Fang	Woleu-N'Tem estuary, Ogooué-Ivindo, Ogooué	110,000		
	Total Gabon		128,000		
Middle Congo	Miscellaneous assimilated	Souanké Ouesso	8,000	2	?
	Total Middle Congo		8,000		
General Total.			814,000		Not including neighboring peoples in process of being assimilated.

D. I. : differential index. S. : sterility rate. G. C. : genital capacity. S. B. : stillbirth rate.
I. M. : infant mortality.

The figures, from I. Dugast, Inventaire, No. 130, refer, on the average, to ten years ago.

163 [161] 1. As an indication, the numerical strength of the Mekaé and Kozimé of the Cameroons may be put at about 80, 000 persons.

index is a little less than + 1%), more, apparently, from a fall in the death rate than from a rise in the birth rate, which is rather inclined to decrease a bit. The table on pages 12a-12c gives a succinct survey in detail.

16 This table calls for some comments. First, the known rate of genital capacity*, nearly always around 4, like the sterility indices that reach 30 percent, forms a contrast to the accounts of the first explorers as well as to tribal traditions, which uniformly speak of high fertility and a large proportion of children. Even taking into account 161 the undoubted exaggeration that colors these statements, it remains likely that a demographic decline took place in the second quarter of the twentieth century, offset by a lowering of mortality, at least in certain areas. The difficulties of adaptation to forest life are an explanation for the south. [164] Undoubtedly, one must add factors like the spread of syphilis (kôto) along the highways and especially around settlements, and the outbreak of sleeping sickness, which seems to have followed pacification and to have affected particularly [165] northern and northeastern Pahouin country. In the south there was also the great Gabon famine of 1924-27, as well as sociological 161 causes such as heavy recruiting for the timber industry and perhaps [illegible] psychological factors arising from the impact of colonization (Balandier). In the north where the precocious rise of an agricultural economy based on cacao stabilized the villages rather early, the change in the form of the bride price and the individual appropriation

/* According to another source, Georges Balandier /5/, "the genital capacity /is/ the mean number of pregnancies in women by the time of the menopause....." *Sociologie Actuelle de l'Afrique Noire, Changements sociaux au Gabon et au Congo* /Contemporary Sociology of Black Africa; Social Changes in Gabon and the Congo/, p. 96, Paris, 1955.--Ed./

162 178 of land by "elder sons" (minsôl) have certainly had an unfavorable demographic effect by upsetting the family structure—41 percent of adult males were unmarried in the Oyem subdivision in 1948. Finally, the wide-scale introduction of trade alcohol before 1914 and since 1946 has most certainly made things worse.

However, the magnitude of the crisis, which has primarily affected 162 164 the Fang of Gabon, must not be exaggerated. The general demographic development might be summed up as follows:

Temporary increase in general mortality immediately after pacification, owing to greater spread of epidemics, particularly of smallpox and sleeping sickness, as a result of new means of mobility; possible rise of sterility rates with slight fall in the genital capacity /13/ owing to venereal infection, alcoholism, labor recruitment (above all in Gabon), and changes in family and village economic organization.

On the other hand, rapid and continuous fall in general mortality resulting from pacification; since about 1930 a falling-off of epidemics and general improvement in hygiene initiated; at present a decline in infant mortality. [75] The universal application of wide-scale antimalarial prophylaxis (in the Cameroons) already allows us to anticipate a spectacular increase in the population.

162 Viewed as a whole, the balance between favorable and unfavorable factors appears to be on the positive side, in any case in areas not affected by the great Gabon famine of 1924. Moreover, [14 awareness of demographic malaise must have partly resulted from the halting of migration, which made a sort of inventory possible. This awareness is especially perceptible in Gabon, where the situation seems to have been in fact more serious.

5. History and Traditions of Origin

171 The known history of the Pahouin group is that of a migration toward the sea, a migration in process of completion before our eyes.

Whence did it start? This is a very controversial question. Stoll, following Schweinfurth, speaks of Upper Egypt, as does Trilles, basing this opinion on linguistic and cultural arguments such as the use of the military crossbow and the shape of the saber (fa). It is this same shape that leads Tessmann to speak of Roman influence. Marche and

17 the Marquis de Compiègne, and later Largeau, speak more moderately of a relationship with the Zandé /Azande/ and Mangbetu of the upper Ubangi, which remains hypothetical.

In fact, the only reasonable certainty we have on this subject, based on traditions, genealogies (for 15 to 20 generations, becoming more or less mythical at the tenth or twelfth), and the observations of the first travelers (notably Du Chaillu) and of European and American missionaries, is that the migration which is now coming to a close must have begun toward the end of the eighteenth century in a savanna area on the right bank of the Sanaga, somewhere to the northeast of the group's present habitat. Would this have been on the upper Sangha, toward Bouar, the region of Baïbokoum, more to the north, or on the Adamawa toward N'Gaoundéré? In our present state of knowledge it is impossible to determine this. Traditions simply speak of an area "toward the east" (mfa' ŋku) in a high region of lakes, where there were lions (ngbwemgbwem) and, according to Trilles, rhinoceros (abvi —?), near a "red" people.

The ancestors of the Pahouin were driven from this habitat by an invasion. Did this involve the Fulbé /Fulani/ of Othman dan Fodio or one of his successors? Some points in the tradition allow us to think so, but the present distribution of tribes north of the Sanaga and their /14/ own traditions would indicate rather that those in question were the Bauté (Wutéré) and perhaps the Mboum /Mbum/, themselves fleeing before the Fulbé.

However that may be, the ancestors of the Pahouin must have crossed the Sanaga in several waves, approximately between Nanga-Eboko and the confluence of the M'Bam, on one side and the other of the Nachtigal Falls. The first waves must have included the ancestors of the Fang and Boulou who went deep into the forest under pressure from the Beti, of whom a handful remained on the right bank.

The spearhead of the migration seems to have divided into three columns somewhere near Bengbis (subdivision of Sangmélima). It was perhaps at this time that the present tribal divisions were determined. A Fang column headed southward, doubtless penetrating into Gabon following the Dja, then the Ivindo. A second column, mainly Boulou, headed westward, parallel to the course of the Nyong, while a third, Ntoumou and Fang, reached into northern Gabon, following an axis that pretty nearly bisected the angle of the other two.

174 This penetration was not at all peaceful: the echo of battles with the Bantu of the interior reached as far as the trading posts on the coast, and the terror spread by the invaders did not fail to hinder commercial relations. Du Chaillu met the Fang and the Ntoumou near Mitzic, the Osyéba on the Ivindo at the beginning of the Second Empire /1852-54/. In 1869, Admiral de Langle reported them in contact with the trading stations of the upper Ògooué, estimating their numbers at about 50,000. In 1875, the Marquis de Compiègne and Aloysius Horn met them at Lambaréné and in the immediate neighborhood of Libreville. Brazza was to aid their march toward the coast and the lower Ogooué, which they would reach in 1893 (Largeau). Since then their advance has continued at a slower pace, partly on the left bank of the Ogooué, to the south off N'Djolé, partly along the coast as far as the Fernan-Vaz lagoon.

For their part, the Boulou have had less luck; they were halted in their progress toward the sea by the Germans around 1890, when they were not more than 30 kilometers from the coast, to the southeast of Kribi. A last war—the ôban, still living in present-day memory—faced them, between 1885 and 1895, with the Bané who sought to spread toward the south. After 1895, they were practically fixed in their present area (but not in the exact sites of contemporary villages) just like the Beti.

Although I have spoken of columns, it is not necessary to represent these migrations as the exodus of the children of Israel across the desert. They were rather by successive leaps, following a general axis, by small family or/and village groups. One could speak of their design of migration as leapfrog: family A is settled; family B establishes a village further south; family C occupies the former territory of B; /a part of/ A then breaks off and /sets up/ a village, A; south of B; next B would act in the same way when A, under pressure from C, /15/ would again move mfa'a mañ, "toward the sea," which is left the final goal. This, multiplied hundreds of times, brings about the extreme scattering of family groups, extended families, and clans, at the same time as /did/ the eddies and whirlpools which explain the present confusion. Whole groups have turned back on their steps, after a military defeat or to avoid contact with the European administration; thus, the Ntoumou of northern Gabon have in part been driven back to the north of the N'Tem by a recoil of the Fang, driving back toward the east and west, along the valley, the Mvaé

174 who were settled among them and the Boulou. The last Beti groups to cross the Sanaga, blocked by those who had preceded them, have turned perpendicularly or obliquely to the general axis of migration.

The total migration was made exclusively by land, even when its [505 axis followed the course of a navigable river. The Pahouin are not users 487] of the pirogue, and the customary trails followed along ridges rather than valleys. Settlement is mainly linear, stretched along trails and, [361] now, roads, in long ribbons, separated by empty areas.

173 The traditions dealing with this exodus are of three kinds: the collective tradition of the group, varying in detail from tribe to tribe but always agreeing in the broad outlines of the same theme; family traditions, consisting of a commentary on genealogies, the majority of which have not been collected and are by way of being lost due to the abandonment of the customary training of boys; finally, a pseudo tradition of contemporary invention, which is far from the least interesting. I shall here give an account only of the principal features of these traditions and, first, of the collective tradition.

According to this, the ancestors used to live in a country called mvo' ékanga or mvo' ékaña'a (Largeau: mvôgh ẽtangha), which means something like "cloudy country" or "honorable country," depending on the tone, or perhaps both at the same time (1). I have pointed out previously the legendary features of this land in the east, the details of which vary according to the informants. It should be observed in passing that they differ as to whether or not this land was the actual cradle of the ancestors and whether the latter came from a place located even more to the east, as the present pseudo tradition assets (2).

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[192] 1. a) Radical kañ = to honor, to respect, whence ékanâ'a = honor, respect, veneration; b) radical kañ = to mark, to design, whence ékanga = mark, design, cloud; c) verb kañele = to lash, to shape /timber/, whence ékanga = bridge.

[533 538] 2. The last of the Ntoumou storytellers sing to the accompaniment of a guitar, mvet, the exploits of the bikañ or bo'bikaña,

173 [533 538] superhuman heroes, who include not only their ancestors but also the earliest well-known Europeans: *Ngôtô Zambe* (Rev. Good), *Mendômô* (Hauptmann von Hagen), *Akôk* (Marius Pascalet), etc., thus are found to be naturalized as it were and incorporated into tradition.

Driven out of this country by red giants (or by *a* red giant), the ancestors, fleeing to save their lives, were brought to a standstill at the Sanaga, incapable of crossing it until the intervention of the guardian of the waters, a python according to Beti and Boulou, a crocodile according to /16/ the Fang (1). By stretching himself across the river this animal formed a bridge which the ancestors crossed family by family, in order of primogeniture, until the moment when a child (or woman) wounded the animal's back by letting fall a weapon (or a torch). The animal dived below, abandoning on the right bank the Beti group that is still there today.

[103] [822] [82[illegible]] Osoe Nnanga, whence Europeans have derived "Sanaga," means "white river" or "river of the albino." White is the color of death; ghosts (*bekôn*) are white; albinos are thought to be offspring of incubi. [775] Lastly, the land of the dead has always been situated in the west, toward the sea (*mañ*), even though the Pahouin could not have known the sea except by hearsay. Considered in connection with some of the legends collected by Trilles, these facts may lead us to think that the Pahouin in crossing the Sanaga were entering, at least symbolically, the land of the dead.

When they had reached the left bank, they found their road blocked by an impenetrable forest, with the single path obstructed by an

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1. Bertaut gives the names as *mot yom* and *nga medja* or *ngan meja*. Discounting a mistake in transcription, these expressions could mean "a being to be supplicated," "crocodile to be supplicated," from *môt* (Fang, *môr*, *mur*) = person; *ngan* = crocodile; *ja'é* (Boulou) *dzak*, *dzaghé* (Ewondo, Fang) = to ask, to supplicate; *yom* = to beg, to implore.

enormous ajap (Mimusops djave), the tree symbolic of power and of physical and spiritual vigor. They made their way through it by means of a narrow tunnel, the nlom ajap, and were able from then on to go forward unimpeded. But after this passage a quarrel broke out between the brothers, over women according to some, over precedence and inheritance according to others, and they separated into four groups, of which one remained on the spot, the others heading toward the sea by the three routes described above.

Thereafter we have to refer to family traditions in order to follow the wanderings of each group, which are impossible to describe in detail.

The most interesting contribution from recent pseudo tradition is without doubt the genealogy collected among the Ntoumou by the administrative officer André, which is particularly widespread among the Fang linguistic division of the Pahouin group. It starts with the ancestor Afiri Kara, leader of the migration at the time of the crossing of the Sanaga, who died after the passage through the nlom ajap. Afiri Kara, "who gave his name to Africa," was the son of Kara Kuba, son of Kuba Ta, son of Ta Ma'a, son of Ma'a Ngô, "who is the father of the Negro race." The sons of Afiri Kara are the ancestors of the present tribes, to whom they have given their names, names which are in fact nicknames derived from puns. For instance, Ntumu Afiri, the ancestor of the Ntoumou, walked with a stick (ntum), Ewôndô Afiri was fond of groundnuts (ôwôndo) or had as many offspring as the seed of a groundnut; Bulu Afiri was especially hard working or serious (bulu: from the root bo, to do = to do seriously, really), (2)etc. Largeau and Tessmann seem to be entirely unacquainted with this legend, whose origin probably does not go back beyond the First World War. /17/

The contribution of pseudo tradition is harder to ascertain in the legends collected by Largeau, Trilles, and Grebert concerning the actual origin of the human race. The theme is that of Jacob and Esau: a younger son of Zobeyo Mebe'e (in Fang: Nzame Mebeghe, Nzame Mebere) takes advantage of the stupidity of his elder brother to become heir to this world's riches (biom, bium = wealth, goods,

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2. Cf. the verb fañ = to do well, to do really, on purpose.

173 as against the fruits of the earth) and flees to the west, land of the dead or the ancestors, where the frustrated elder son pursues him (1).

[823] 1. This association of the west with material goods, of the east with the produce of the land, is found again in the potlatch (bilaba), described further on.

Largeau and Grebert make of the usurping younger son the ancestor of the Whites, but Trilles has collected versions which he considers older, in which the younger son is the ancestor of the Bantu of the coast; these versions, moreover, exist side by side with Largeau's. It is possible that the association of the younger son with the Whites dates from the first trade contacts. /18/

Chapter 3

The Language

1. Distribution

197 The group as a whole is characterized by an unquestionable linguistic unity, which spreads across cultural and anthropological boundaries. I have earlier indicated the existence of Pahouinized tribes or tribes [563] becoming Pahouinized, especially the Maka and the Kozimé. To these must be added the Pygmies living symbiotically with the Pahouin, and whose language they appear to have adopted to a very great extent, to a point where it is difficult to know for certain if they still possess a language of their own.

[198] Moreover, Pahouin dialects tend to be used as a trade language in areas where, on the one hand, the Pahouin are but a minority, often as emigrants, or, on the other, in regions less advanced economically and socially than is their own habitat.

There are therefore:

a) A true Pahouin linguistic area: this is Pahouin country as described in the first chapter. There Pahouin is spoken as a mother tongue by the Pahouin themselves and in all probability by the Pygmies.

197 There it is spoken as a main language though not really a mother tongue by permanent or semipermanent immigrants, of whom the greatest number are the Bamiléké in the Cameroons and, in Gabon, the "Gabonese" of the Myéné linguistic group.

b) A Pahouinized area, including in the Cameroons the left bank of the middle Sanaga (Beti country, with Mangisa and Eton especially), Maka country around Abong-M'Bang, the left bank of the Dja in Jem and Dzimou country (1); in the Middle Congo, part of Ouesso District (in the west), that of the Souanké; in Gabon the left bank of the Ivindo, among the Bakwelé. Differences between the languages spoken in these areas and the Pahouin dialects are rapidly disappearing.

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197 c) Areas in which Pahouin dialects serve as trade language, either between tribes with different languages, or for administrative and commercial relations, even for political and /19/ religious propaganda. In the Cameroons, Ewôndo serves this purpose on the right bank of the middle Sanaga, in the M'Bam region, as well as on the left bank toward the Ubangi border in the Lom-and-Kadei region, especially in the Bertoua subdivision. Boulou has become the trade language of the Kribi region. In Spanish Guinea, Fang and Boulou are used as a common language by immigrants from the French territories. In Gabon the Myéné dialects are giving way to Fang, which is coming more and more into use, as far as the Congo-Ocean railway. In the large towns—Douala, Yaoundé, Libreville, Port-Gentil, and even Dolisie—Pahouin dialects are used by immigrants belonging to other linguistic groups.

197 The vigor of the major dialects—Boulou, Ewôndo, Fang—comes not only from the enterprising character of the Pahouin but also from
197 the work of missions which distribute a good deal of literature in these
214 dialects, while the languages of some of the neighboring populations have not been transcribed or have only given rise to scanty publications.

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1. Koch, in "Le petit bétail chez les Badjoué et Bikélé de Messaména /Small livestock among the Bajoué and Bikélé of Messamena/," _Bulletin de la Société de Recherches congolaises_, 13-14, March-June, 1946, gives striking examples of the penetration of Boulou into this region.

2. Dialects

197 Guthrie lists seven dialects, including three principal ones: "YAỤNDE, 797 BỤLỤ, Ntum, Meka, Zimu /Nzimu/, FAŊ, Make." It would probably be better to speak of three dialect areas corresponding to the three groups—Beti, Fang, Boulou—already defined, each area containing a predominant speech, which is always the one transcribed by missionaries. The importance of this sociological phenomenon is underlined by the fact that the transcribed dialects tend sometimes to extend beyond and sometimes to shrink within the corresponding ethnological area, in conjunction with nonlinguistic factors, the principal one being the religious affiliation of the speakers. Likewise, it is established that in certain areas a mother tongue coexists with a written dialect learned at mission schools and spoken by Christian converts.

The predominant dialect in the Beti area is Ewôndo, the working language of the Catholic mission, which is rapidly supplanting the Beti (Ati) dialects properly so called of the Sanaga Valley. The Eton dialect, for instance, which was more Ati than Pahouin on the eve of the 1914 war (Nekes), is today completely assimilated; Tsinga and Mangisa are on the way to being so. Finally, Ewôndo as a trade language is gaining ground in the north and east, as already indicated. In the south, on the contrary, though it may be replacing Bané and Fong and even be making superficial inroads into the Catholic cantons of the Boulou-speaking area; it is losing out to Boulou in the districts [191] evangelized by the American Presbyterian Mission. Thus the Bané, the Fong, and certain Protestant Ewôndo are in fact bilingual; they speak as their mother tongue a dialect close to Ewôndo, while they write, pray, or sing in Boulou.

197 Boulou is therefore gaining in the Ewôndo linguistic area in the north. Toward the east, it is gaining among the Mekaé and Kozimé, has supplanted Fang among the isolated Fang groups of the north, and serves as the cultivated language among the /20/ Cameroons Ntoumou [198] and Mvaé (except for Catholics) and as a trade language at Kribi and in Spanish Guinea. It even competes with Fang as a written language in northern Gabon. In the Catholic sectors it is putting up quite a good resistance to Ewôndo, except where it comes in contact with Bané and Fong.

Fang has supplanted Ntoumou in the Woleu-N'Tem region—except in Bitam District, where it is in competition with Boulou—and

197 in Spanish Guinea. It is advancing to east and south and tending to replace Pongwé as a trade language. Its progress remains handicapped by the existence of several transcriptions that borrow simultaneously from different dialects, a fact which hinders standardization of the dialect. It seems however that the dialect of the west—Mazouna or Betsi—is gaining on that of the east—Mekina or Maké—which, moreover, has provided fewer elements in the transcriptions.

The differences between Ewôndo, Boulou, and Fang are unmistakable, but not such, however, as to prevent communication. The syntax is practically identical, the grammatical differences unimportant. The distinctions between different kinds of speech are chiefly related to pronunciation and vocabulary.

As for pronunciation, there is a striking resemblance between
194 Fang and Ewôndo, which is rather surprising, since the two groups are
197 separated by the Boulou enclave and do not have, or no longer have, direct contacts. Ewôndo is a little less harsh, a little less guttural than Fang, while Boulou is neither in any way. Above all, Boulou is quite without r, ordinary or fricative (r, x), replacing it with t or, more recently, with a velar l:

arki (Ew.), arigi (F.) = ahlki (B.)
kalara (Ew.), kalaghë (F.) = kalat (B.)

Boulou usually avoids hard or emphatic intervocalic occlusives (g, k, gh, kh) and replaces them with a vocalic plosive /attaque vocalique/ or a rough aspirate:

saghele (F.), sakélé (Ew.) = sa'ale (B.)
afôghele (F.) = afô'ôlo (B.)

It omits many of the initial nasals of Fang:

Nzame (F.) = Zambe (B.);

and uses j (ʒ) in preference to dz:

zé (F., Ew.) = jé (B.);

likewise ty (tʃ) in preference to, or together with, k:

ôkeñ (F.) = ôtyeñ (B.).

192 From the point of view of vocabulary the three kinds of speech differ chiefly in their borrowings from neighboring languages. Guthrie estimates these loan words at not more than 5 percent of the vocabulary of the Pahouin group, but the proportion is greater in Ewôndo and in Fang, in the latter reaching 20 percent. The borrowings come from the Myéné group for Fang, from Ati for Ewôndo. Boulou borrows indirectly /21/ from Myéné and Ati, directly from

192 Maka-Ngumba, from Jem-Dzimu, and from coastal Bantu. The European contributions would come more from Coast English for Ewôndo and Boulou, from Portuguese "sabir"* for Fang, but Coast English is increasing its influence on the whole group, as French is doing. The Abbé Walker mentions Arabic influences, but the only authentic examples are extremely rare: I only know of *banga* (Indian hemp) and *arki* (alcohol).

[198] /* A mixture of Arabic, French, Italian, Spanish, etc., used in the Levant and Africa. —Tr./

3. Characteristics of the Language

193 Sentence structure follows the order: subject, verb, attributive complement, objective complement.

Thus: *M'aboté évet zel* = I moisten chief beard (I grease the chief's palm).

The qualifier, adverb or epithet, is usually but not always placed before the word modified:

abeñ minga = pretty woman; *mbia môt* = wicked man; *ôbe anen* = rather large; but

anen abui = very large; *bôte bela* = three people.

192 Trilles, in *Totemism among the Fang* (no. 166) (1), estimates the vocabulary at 18, 000 words, undoubtedly counting as separate words certain derivatives, especially verbal inflections, which could as well be classed with the radical form, as to Bates and Good; they obtained a Boulou vocabulary of about 7, 000 words, which is far from being complete. The correct number must be near 10, 000 to 12, 000 at least. While the language has been enriched by European and non-Pahouin African loan words, it appears at the same time to have been impoverished by the loss of certain nuances of meaning, of technical or religious terms, of older literary or poetical figures

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[128] 1. The numbers inside parentheses refer to corresponding numbers in the Bibliography, p. 179.

192 of speech, and this to a large extent owing to European influence, in particular compulsory schooling. The teaching of rhetoric played a [869] great part in the traditional education of boys (njɔ̂ɔ̂, nzoé = speaker, orator = chief), and initiation into various rites gave the initiates the right to use certain words forbidden to the uninitiated (2). Con-

2. I was never able to learn the real word for "skull" reserved for biéri initiates; I was only told the paraphrase, ékokoé nlo mɔ̂t, "shell of a man's head."

[177] version to Christianity and instruction in colonial schools have brought about a definite deterioration in the language, by forcing traditional education to retreat or by destroying it. It is thus that the novel [538] Nnanga kɔ̂n (no. 153), written after the war of 1914, is nowadays arduous reading for young Boulou.

193 The majority of the words in the language are formed from /22/ a biliteral root (consonant-vowel) or triliteral (consonant-vowel-consonant) to which affixes are added. There are thus series such as:

KI (Fang) or TYI (Boulou), radical—kié, tyé = power; éki, étyi = prohibition; tyik = to cut, to decide; tyi = to be under a prohibition; tyili = to lay under a prohibition, to forbid; étyé, ékié = iron, pl. bityé, bikie = sacramental money; ɔ̂tyeñ, ɔ̂k(i)eñ = knife; metyi, meki = blood, etc.

The most important affixes are the nominal classifiers, which permit the division of nouns and pronouns into nominal classes or semantic genders; sexual gender does not exist. There are five or six of these classes or genders, according to different writers. Semantic implication /sic/ is not always clear in true substantives, but it is much more so for verbal substantives. I give here the Boulou classes according to Bates:

I. nominal classifiers: m, n, n/be, b; pronominal classifiers: a, ny, w/be, b. —Personal class, names of persons, of personified animals; names of European origin. Verbal derivatives indicating the agent.

Ex: mot, bot = person; ngal, beyal = wife, female;
metoa, bemetoa = conveyance /voiture/;
mbo, bebo = he who does /makes/, from bo = to do /make/;
ndi = he who eats, from di = to eat.

A3 II. m, ñ, n/mi; ô, w/mi. —Various names, without specific semantic connotation; verbal derivatives indicating the result of action, under some sort of passive aspect; derivatives of nouns of other classes indicating quality or state.

Ex: mbu, mimbu = season; nsoñ, minsoñ = point;
mboan (1) = action (what is done), from bo = to do /make/;

1. The forms of the verb in -ban and -an correspond to passive and reciprocal aspects.

ñyeman = sapience, understanding, from yem = to know;
ndiban (1) = closed, from dip = to close; ñwuan = deceased,
from wu = to die;
mbe'e = burden, cargo, from be'e = to carry;
nkôbo = speech, from kôbo = to speak;
mintaé = pain, suffering, from taé = to hurt;
ndindim = a blind man, from ndim = blindness;
ñwuwup = a thief, from wup = theft.

III. no nominal classifier; pronominal classifiers e, ny, j. — Words of this class may be used in the plural with I and IV classifiers (be, b; me, m) according to the sense; no words derived from verbs; the corresponding form of the verb is the simple or elementary form.

Ex: zok, optional plural bezok = elephant;
kal, optional plural bekal = sister;
fa, optional plural mefa = saber /23/

N. B. —This class is perhaps peculiar to Boulou and Ewôndo; in Fang most of the corresponding words take a regular classifier in the singular. Ex: ze, zok, kal (B.) = nze, nzok, nkal (F.).

IV. a, d, j/me, m, e, d/me, m. —Odd nouns, including however many anatomical terms; words derived from verbs, indicating a verb's action in itself, corresponding either to an infinitive or to a substantive infinitive (drinking /le boire/, eating /le manger/), names of trees derived from names of fruit.

Ex: jam, mam = thing, matter, question;
joé, moé = name, nose, authority; abo, mebo = paw;
abum, mebum = belly, uterus, pregnancy;
ake = the fact of going, the going; mevak = rejoicing, from
vak = to rejoice;
ayôñ = heat, from yôñ = to be hot.

193 V. é, j/bi; é, j/bi. —Names of tools or instruments, often found in the next class; names of qualities used as adjectives; various nouns, some of them European words; words derived from verbs, indicating the object of an action, its objective result; words derived from nouns, with an idea of strengthening or increase.

Ex: jôm, biôm = thing, merchandise; évele = red, the fact of being red, redness; ébak, bibak = hoe;
bidi = food, what is eaten, from di = to eat;
éto = state, situation, meeting, session, from to = to be seated;
élik = inheritance, legacy, what one leaves, from lik = to leave;
ékotôkot = cheating, from nkot = crooked;
éseñ = forest, copse of umbrella trees /musanga Smithii, R. Br., used for paper pulp, — Tr./, from aseñ = umbrella.

VI. ô, vi, w/a, l; ô, vi, w/e, d. —Various nouns, including names of tools and instruments; names of elusive, transitory things; names of small things and diminutive derivatives; words derived from verbs, apparently indicating intellectual qualities.

Ex: ôdiba'a, adiba'a = key (also exists in Class V: édiba'a);
ôsoé, asoé = river; ôtita = smoke; ôyo = sleep;
vioé, loé = laughter; viek, lek = cooking pot;
ôlé = stick (élé = tree); ônon = bird; ôbe, abe = small, a bit of, a small quantity;
ôfifis = small piece, from éfus = piece; ôkukut = fool, from akut = mad;
ôsimsan = good memory, from simsan = to remember; ôvuan = memory, from vuan = to forget.

Bates adds to these six classes a fossil class of names of liquids, which is well represented in the Bantu languages but in Pahouin only includes words identical with plurals of Class IV, with rare exceptions. I must also mention certain words that belong /24/ to classes or genders that differ according to whether they are in the singular or the plural (1).

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1. Certain morphological irregularities have semantic implications. Ex: ésa, in the sense of "father," becomes in the plural beésa (Class I, personal); in its normal class (V, augmentative,

193 pl. *bisa*) it means "extended family." The two words (which have different tones) come from *sak*, to ejaculate, to f.... /sic: probably *foutre*/ which would have led to **nsak*, *besak* = genitor, father.

The pronominal classifiers have an important and typical role, that of connecting a noun and its complement or a noun-subject and its verb. Nevertheless, this rule does not seem to be absolute, and Boulou especially is quite ready to omit the connective in the genitive, particularly in the singular:

jôm é ntañgan or *jôm ntañgan*, *biôm bi ntañgan* or *biôm ntañgan* = thing or things of whiteness;

mon a fañ, *bo' be fañ* = a or some Fang;

alu e ne dibi, *melu me ne dibi* = the night (s) is (are) dark;

mvu j'adi, *bemvu b'adi* = the dog (s) eats (eat).

Fundamentally, verbs are divided into verbs of state or position and verbs of action, which are not conjugated the same way. One type is derived from another by affixation to the radical, which makes it possible to complete the defective conjugation of verbs of state by recourse to their active derivatives. Tense, mood, voice, and aspect are indicated either by affixation or inflection, or by using auxiliary verbs, some of which have a meaning by themselves, while others may only be used with another verb (the last are perhaps simple affixes).

Pronouns and pronoun-adjectives are well represented, while qualifying adjectives are rare, especially in Boulou, and are most frequently replaced by nouns of quality or state that do not agree. The same is to be observed concerning tool-words /*mots-outils*/: aside from a few adverbs, the invariable conjunction and preposition, nouns are mainly used:

éyoñ = time, circumstance = when; *mfa'a* = direction, orientation = toward; *ajô te* = this matter = thus, therefore, consequently, etc.

194 114 From the phonetic point of view the outstanding trait of the group is undoubtedly the use of tones, which is the basis of telephony by drum (*nkul*), bell (*nkeñ*), or modulated cry (*ékiga*). Bates and Johnson recognize five tones, plus the *glissando* of the negative. Bertaut, following the German scholars, distinguishes two fundamental tones, high and low; two derived ones, ascending and descending;

194 and a middle tone. Father Stoll, raising the problem again in a
194 recent work, turns it upside down by describing two fundamental tones, symmetrically contrasted, two dominant tones, and eight compound /*composés*/ or gliding ones, all of them together classed as eight principal (four simple and four gliding) and four secondary ones. He connects this symmetrical system with the cosmogony, proving his point with an illustration from the *sô* rite. The battle among specialists
194 is too violent for me to express an opinion. I shall restrict myself
202 /25/ to pointing out that the *nkul* and the *nkeñ* only give two tones, and that in sending a message by one of these methods rhythm plays as important a part as do the tones (1).

534 1. But the *balafo*, *mejeñ*, consist of five xylophones of different tonality, each having six notes.

In the spoken language, and especially in formal speech, rhythm is just as important, and even those missionaries who possess a fine enough ear to avoid involuntary puns through tone usually do not succeed in mastering rhythm as can the last of the poet-storytellers. Current transcriptions do not, moreover, take rhythm or tone into account, the meaning of homographs emerging from their context.
178 I think I observed here as elsewhere that the younger generation is inclined to forget the fine points of the language and no longer distinguish more than two tones, high and low, while the use of the *nkul* is daily losing ground.

A final important element in the language, especially in the oral literature, is represented by exclamative-descriptives, a series of locutions based on onomatopoeias or derived from verbs or modified nouns, reduplicated and often introduced by an exclamative particle or a click (2). Some of them are sufficiently accepted to be used in

2. Bertaut is one of the rare authors, if not the only one, to point out these clicks. I know of three in general use: one of approval, one of denial, one of warning. Others exist, used in hunting and still little known, which were perhaps borrowed from the Pygmies.

194 written texts, but the majority remain current only in the spoken language, the speaker moreover not hesitating to invent as need arises.

4. Classification

197 114 Most writers, from Meinhof to Guthrie, class the languages of the Pahouin group with the Bantu. In his general classification of Bantu languages (1948), Guthrie puts them in his area A, under the decimal number 60, including Ewôndo, Bulu /Boulou/, Ntum /Ntoumou/, Mekaé, Zimu, Fañ /Fang/ (the so-called Betsi or Mazouna dialect, although he does not specify this) and Maké (doubtless eastern Fang, the dialect called Makina). Stoll includes Ewôndo in his work on the Bantu and semi-Bantu languages of the Cameroons, without specifying whether he classes it with one or the other (3).

3. In its reports to the United Nations, the Cameroons government qualifies the Pahouin of the southern Cameroons as "neo-Bantu."

197 Yet it seems certain that, if these languages are really to be included in the Bantu family, they form a special category, which cannot be likened purely and simply to the unquestionably Bantu languages of adjacent populations. Besides, there is discussion as to whether the Pahouin invaders brought their language with them or have adopted and changed that of the peoples established before them on the Cameroons-Gabon plateau. There has also been some hesitation about classing the languages /26/ of the border tribes, notably Mekaé and Kozimé, either with the Pahouin group or with the adjacent Bantu groups. For instance, while it is agreed to put Ngumba beside the Bantu languages of the coast, Mekaé, which is certainly related to it, is classed sometimes with the Pahouin tongues, sometimes with those of the Bantu of the eastern Cameroons.

197 114 The existence of a nominal gender (Bates' Class III) lacking a classifier prevents our putting the group among "agglutinating languages with a perfect class system having a special pronoun for each class," where Delafosse places Bantu. Mademoiselle Homburger (*Le langage et les langues* /Speech and Language/, p. 69) makes of it a separate family, close both to coastal Bantu and to semi-Bantu. In the chapter she devotes to Bantu in *Les langues du monde* /Languages of the World/

197 114 she connects it with Delafosse's West African group, harking back to its non-Bantu character in Les langues africaines et les peuples qui les parlent /African Languages and the Peoples Who Speak Them/.

Father Trilles and Abbé Walker believe that they have found Semitic and Hamitic influences in Fang. A borrowing from Sudanese appears more likely. Westermann classes "Bati" in the semi-Bantu group, pointing out that the term "Sudanese languages possessing classes" seems to him more appropriate. Now, we know that Beti (Ati), which is losing ground today to Ewondo, is itself very close to Fang (Betsi-Mazouna) and recently reached to the northern limits of Boulou, which it has influenced.

We may therefore come to the conclusion that the Pahouin linguistic group, at present very close to Bantu, ought probably to be considered intermediate between the true Bantu tongues and the semi-Bantu or Sudanese class languages, historical circumstances and contact with neighboring peoples having accentuated the Bantu traits in such a way that it is proper, from the methodological point of view especially, to classify it as a special family of the Bantu group (1).

1. In the absence of specific mention, it seems that Greenberg (no. 70) would classify it in his Nigero-Congo group. [i.e., Niger-Congo. -Analyst]

Chapter 4

Economic Life

1. Subsistence

222 262 The diet of the Pahouin peoples would be enough to prove that their attachment to the land is quite recent. In fact the importance of collected produce is striking. According to a study carried out in Eton country (region of Yaoundé) by Dr. Masseyeff, the consumption of mushrooms amounts on Eton average to 4.1 grams per day per person (1). Snails, termites, caterpillars, palm larvae, and crickets

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1. R. Masseyeff, A. Cambon, Enquête sur l'alimentation au Cameroon, Rapport à l'Office

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de la Recherche scientifique et technique outre-mer /Inquiry into nourishment in the Cameroons, Report made to the Oversea Scientific and Technical Research Office/, I. R. C. A. M., Yaoundé.

are also eaten. "If this inquiry had taken place 30 years ago, the list of foods would have been much longer. Many leaves and fruits that used to be gathered were neglected, then given up altogether.... Likewise, game has become scarce...." (2) In many villages there

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2. Compiègne (no. 13) pointed out as long ago as 1875 the ravages to herds of elephants caused by Fang "hunting parties," which killed male, female, and young elephants indiscriminately.

The following are the principal hunting techniques now in use:

Shooting: With crossbow for monkeys and large birds, using "bamboo" strophanthin-poisoned arrows; with guns for large game: guns with central percussion /sic/ in the Cameroon, with trade guns in Gabon (these, which are prohibited in the Cameroons, are superior for shooting assagai at elephants, which often causes improved rifles to burst); beating and calling.

Battue /beating/: Dogs wearing little bells drive the game into nets, where it is finished off by spearing.

Snaring: Snares of elephant hair for francolin /partridge/ and small mammals (a method used particularly by children); wire snares for boar and antelope; pitfalls for elephant; trenches with stakes, plain trenches, dead-end trenches; 4-shaped deadfalls /quatre-de-chiffre/; land weirs; portcullis cages; snaring with latex; poisoned bait (for panther and wildcat).

222 262 are men who call themselves hunters (3). Income from the sale of game meat appears to be practically negligible in family budgets. But, according to the work quoted above, hunting provides about a fifth of the total consumption of meat. Fishing is not unknown, but 226 262 the techniques are of the simplest. Women sometimes /28/ dam streams to dry up the beds where the fish can be caught. Sometimes fishing with poison is done, and children like to fish with line. But none of the methods is really productive; there are no large weirs, no nets, no canoes. Nutritionists estimate the ration of locally caught fish to be 1 gram per person per day—which is a simply way of underlining the feeble nautical talents of the Pahouin.

262 Agriculture furnishes the basic subsistence. Manioc is used in countless dishes: manioc rolls made from the crushed and boiled tubers, smothered manioc, or manioc fritters; even the leaves are often eaten. The use of leaves for food is perhaps a peculiar trait of Ewôndo and Boulou diet. Thirteen kinds of leaves are used in cooking, either as seasoning or as a purée, often to thicken sauces. Along with manioc, the plantain banana provides the basic food. Next comes macabo, _Xanthosema_ _sagittefolia_ /malanga/. Various kinds of yams are much liked. This gastronomic pattern of the Fang, and [177] in particular of the Beti, should be enough to prove their foreign origin, because yams, which are tropical rather than equatorial, do not grow at all well in the present habitat of the Pahouin.

Maize is the only cereal currently used as food. It is often served as a dough, as gruel, and even on the cob. Maize beer, outside [273] certain urban centers, seems to be drunk less than palm wine, (the sap of the _Elaeis_ _guineensis_). The oil palm, moreover, plays an important part in the diet. A source of lipoids /_lipides_/ and Vitamin A,

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224 262 Hunting on foot: Practiced especially by the Pygmies, without dogs. Some Pahouin still hunt down buffalo and forest pig and kill them with boar spears, but they are few. (P. A.)

3. In some Boulou villages one finds foreign professional hunters, Baya or Kaka usually. Besides, Pygmies are regular hunters for their "landlords." (P. A.)

262 palm oil is the basis of sauces and stews eaten with tubers and cereals. Groundnuts are widely used (do not the Ewôndo owe their name to them?). The dough obtained after cooking and pounding goes toward the making of numerous dishes and provides the main part of the needed protein. One article of food ought finally to be mentioned because it is very much liked and also because its consumption seems absolutely uneconomical—pumpkin seeds. The seeds are preserved, dried, and cleaned one by one, then put to boil, and mashed. The skill required for, and the time spent in, shelling the seeds appears subject to scanty return (1).

[438] 1. But fritters made of pumpkin-seed dough are delicious .... There is quite a good trade in these seeds for town consumption. (P. A.)

2. Agriculture

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Before broaching the description of present-day agriculture, we must see what it used to be like and what it still is in certain traditionalist sections. In fact, methods do not appear to have changed at all; new crops have simply been added to the old ones. It is likely that because of the influence of these new crops /29/ the whole technology (material techniques, legal techniques, etc.) will develop further. But that trend is only starting, and at present the cultivation of groundnuts, maize, and other long-familiar foodstuffs remains nearly what it was forty years ago, before the advent of the cacao tree.

241 Traditional agriculture

Formerly, each family produced everything it needed and confined its efforts. There were no cash crops, there was no article of food suitable for maintaining an exchange system, but all sorts of crops were cultivated. As to clothes, elderly Bané and Ewôndo state that
[247 the cultivation and weaving of cotton was practiced by their ancestors;
there could be no question of this in their present habitat, and the
289] tradition is valuable merely as evidence, either for those who believe that the Pahouin come from regions further north, or for those who see in the Beti not true Pahouin but a Pahouinized people (1). Each

241 [824] 1. The Boulou call cotton sut and kapok sut duma; neither the cotton plant nor the kapok tree grows in their area. (P. A.)

family grows some tobacco, some pimentos, or condiments of various kinds, in short, all it consumes. Each plot of land, moreover, shows this multiple cultivation, since all sorts of plants are sown together according to the so-called system of companion crops, in contrast to European cultivation where one field is devoted exclusively to one crop.

241 242 This mixture of different plants probably avoids exhausting the soil of any one of its constituants. A stand of maize with its shallow roots absorbs what nourishment it needs, while the tubers of the macabo which surround it go deeper to feed themselves with other elements, and a few plantings of groundnuts enrich the soil by holding nitrogen in it. And yet, as an additional preventive measure, so to speak, the farmer varies his sowings from year to year. Does he consciously carry on true crop rotation, is he led to this practice by the length of growing cycles or by the needs of the plants?

241 After a rough clearing of the ground by burning, the women sow and plant the freshly cleared land: gourds, plantains, macabo to be harvested in a year or eighteen months, maize that will mature in five months. After the maize harvest, a second planting period is devoted to groundnuts; when they are mature, macabo, manioc, and plantain will be ready to harvest. Manioc is left in the ground for a long time and can, at need, provide tubers. The cycle completed, the ground is left fallow and goes back to bush. Fallow land that was abandoned for good at the time of the great migrations is now being put back into cultivation after a lapse of time that varies with the demand for land due to demographic pressure, with the quality of the soil, and with the nature of its reclamation. /30/

Obviously, there is no period of any length without a crop.

Except for maize, groundnuts, and pumpkin seeds, there is no crop that can be stored in a granary, a fact that has as much bearing on social psychology as upon building techniques. Working according to traditional methods, a woman cultivates 0.52 hectares a year to provide food for her family (1). There is another way of judging the

1. A mean based on /the work of/ 27 women (Ewondo and Bané) whose plots were measured

241 in 1954 in connection with a study of family budgets.

amount of food necessary to maintain the population: a crop census
[431] was taken in 1948 in one of the Sangmélima cantons (2). In order to

2. Report of the administrative officer, J.M. Soupault. An average individual's requirement would be: 250 maize plants, 330 manioc plants, 130 plantains, 110 macabo, 7 kilograms of rice, and 32 kilograms of groundnuts.

satisfy the needs of 6, 249 inhabitants there is no "exportation" to
[433] speak of. The canton used to produce 1, 635, 000 maize plants, 2, 049, 000 manioc, 824, 190 plantain bananas, 687, 800 macabo. It furthermore provided 44 tons of rice, 200 tons of groundnuts. There were 85, 180 fruit trees producing various kinds of fruit (Pachylobes /Canarium edulis Hooker, known as assa in Pahouin country—Ed. /, Estulis, oranges, etc.)

Clearing land by burning and the absence of organic fertilizer probably explain the exhaustion of the soil and the shifting cultivation that results from it.

231 The breeding and rearing of small animals is nevertheless understood and practiced: goats, dogs, fowls, pigs were and still are plentiful in the villages. These animals do not seem to contribute
[428] much to the food supply nor to the economic life. The very limited practice of selling pieces of pork has dates from recent years. As a
[431] matter of fact, animals were useful for giving quasi-ritual presents,
[582] for paying bride prices, and for celebrating family occasions: at a marriage, burial, and the end of mourning, two or three goats were killed to provide food for the relatives.

Of course, these animals are not stabled or fed; the herds wander along the outskirts of villages and do not fail to plunder the gardens.
[578] There are innumerable classic quarrels between farmers and herders (with the slight difference here that no one is exclusively a herder nor
357 exclusively a farmer). Was the practice of enclosing by hedges established so as to avoid such depredations, or to give military protection to the settlements? Whatever the origin, this practice associated with the raising of animals would have made it possible to avoid

361 erosion and preserve the fertility of the soil. At present it would be a definite exaggeration to speak of an enclosure system, as may be done about the Bamiléké in the western Cameroons. Did such a system ever exist in Pahouin country, and are the humble hedges sometimes to be found encircling villages or plantations traces of it? However that may be, the practice could be very beneficial, and its development is much to be desired.

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178 The raising of animals is now on the decline, especially in villages removed from the main roads. Are sacrifices requiring goats and hens passing into disuse? /31/ Have vehicular traffic and the number of fowls run over prevented the renewal of the leasing out of domestic animals /?/ /cheptel/. These various causes may have been simultaneously at work, but the reason most often given is the development of cacao plantations. Without fences, the raising of goats and the planting of cacao trees are incompatible. To protect their plantations or to avoid endless quarrels, owners of herds have had to limit their undertakings.

Modern agriculture

245 Cacao is indeed the symbol and the essential component of a modern economy. From this crop and from the agricultural, juridical, and economic practices which it entails, a thousand improvements or seeds of progress appear throughout the society.

It would, however, be unfair not to mention the other economic activities of the Pahouin districts, although their influence and financial return are far behind that of cacao. Timber, though its [313] importance has decreased, played an essential role a few decades ago. African entrepreneurs are rare in this industry where equipment is complicated and expensive. A fairly large tonnage of palmetto is sold when the market is good, although the best soil and climate for palms is not to be found here (1).

[491]
[194] 1. The Pahouin of the southern Cameroons, the Boulou and Ntoumou particularly, dislike climbing trees and often sell the bunches of dates to Mekaé on the tree. (P. A.)

But cacao remains the master crop. Its cultivation has become a part of the mores and has left its mark on psychological patterns.

245 Planters boast of the number of their trees. Does this transformation go deep? Balandier thinks not: "Present-day interest in cacao growing ought not to mislead us—the Fang is not by nature a farmer; he raises cacao insofar as it brings in money and commodities." (2)

2. Balandier and Pauvert, Villages gabonais /Gabonese Villages/, I.E.C.A. /Institut d'Etudes centrafricaines/, Brazzaville, 1952.

Within the last forty years millions of trees have been planted. A few figures will go to show the extent of this activity: in Boulou country there is an average of 1,500 cacao trees per able-bodied man at Ebolowa, 1,100 at Sangmélima, 950 at Djoum. In Beti country, the plantations are not so large, either because the soil was less fertile or because the population density did not allow as much land to be withdrawn from subsistence crops. Nevertheless, there are 413 trees per able-bodied man for the whole Yaoundé region. Distribution by subdivision is of some interest because it makes it possible to understand how far cacao trees have extended. The M'Balmayo subdivision comes first with 743 trees per man; then Djongolo with 655; Etse, 415; Akonolinga, 401; Saa, 378; Mfou, 347; Okola, 277. The Nanga-Eboko figure does not warrant consideration, the subdivision being in part in an unfavorable climatic area. /32/ Ebolowa is clearly the center of diffusion, and the contagion of example explains perfectly well the gradually decreasing density of the plantations. At Yaoundé or Akonolinga, plantations are fewer because the custom of planting is more recent. But the low figures for Saa or Okola are probably to be explained by the difficulty of finding empty land in areas where the density of population may reach 100 persons per square kilometer. On the other hand, extreme sparsity of population becomes an unfavorable factor. Djoum with 0.8 persons per square kilometer is less abundantly planted than are Sangmélima or Ebolowa with 8 to 10 persons.

In measuring the importance of the cacao trees to the local economy, the distribution-per-man figures will give no indication of the distribution of the ownership of trees or of wealth. The entire production is in African hands. Everyone considers it a point of honor to own a plantation. Townsmen, officials, or /salaried/ employees, whose

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245 occupations keep them away from their native villages, try to build up plantations, even though they may draw no profits before their retirement. Among Boulou or Beti every married man is a cacao planter. In the course of a sample survey of 490 rural families, only 43 (less than 9 percent) were found who do not have some income from a cacao plantation (1): 7 live from the sale of different agricultural products; 15 are engaged in crafts; 9 are salaried workers, employed in trade, missions, the administration. For the 437 other families cacao is a basic resource.

245 556 434 511 The large number of proprietors is accompanied by a wide distribution of wealth and by a certain amount of social equality (2).

Nevertheless, financial differences are clearly marked. To take only cash income and to disregard home consumption, 28 households had available an average of 3, 720 francs C. F. A. per annum (3), 113 households had 10, 000 francs C. F. A., 217 had 29, 600 francs, 87 had 71, 500 francs, 36 had 152, 000 francs, 5 had 440, 000 francs. Large incomes coincide with enormous plantations, but also with

245 profits from a variety of sources: of the 5 families with the highest

511 income, only 2 derive theirs entirely from cultivation. Of the 36 in

556 the next lower category, 24 have a purely agricultural income. The

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1. J. Binet, _Budgets familiaux des planteurs de cacao au Cameroun_ /Family Budgets of Cacao Planters in the Cameroons/, O. R. S. T. O. M. /Office de la Recherche scientifique et technique outre-mer/.

2. Sautter, "Le cacao dans l'économie rurale du Woleu-Ntem /Cacao in the Rural Economy of the Woleu-N'Tem/, " _Études centrafricaines_, 1951.

[426] 3. One franc C. F. A. equals two metropolitan francs. Incomes were computed in 1954, a year during which quotations for cacao were especially favorable.

245 [511 556] distribution of cacao plantations is neither the only nor perhaps the principal cause of inequality. Cacao production is on a considerable scale: around 50,000 tons in the Cameroons, 3,000 tons in Gabon (4).

[433] 4. Almost the whole of the Gabon output comes from the Woleu-N'Tem region and especially the Ntoumou cantons. (P. A.)

182 It is easy to understand that this crop is an essential factor in the evolution /sic/ of Pahouin society.

245 In the field of common law, for example, cacao has affected the orientation of land law. By giving each person the possibility of making /33/ private profits, cacao has increased the independence of men and even of women from family authority. Because it allows the accumulation of durable and tranferable goods, cacao has raised, in a new form, the problem of successional devolution /inheritance/.

To consider only the realm of technology: settling on the land during several generations has apparently put an end to real nomadism; villages are no longer moved about. But a certain amount of shifting cultivation will remain inevitable if some method of rapid reclamation of fallow land is not adopted.

245 412 The stock of tools has increased considerably. An axe with a small, narrow head ending in a tongue was fastened into the large end of a wooden handle, a daba similarly made but with a rounder head and lighter handle (1) and a machete were formerly the basic implements.

[284] 1. The tongue of the hoe, driven into a branch like a spike, is also bound to it with liana. Old women still use the digging stick, which has or had some ritual significance. (P. A.)

To these must now be added pruning shears, caterpillar destroyer or a local copy, and cacao spear.

245 Boxes or baskets provide vats for fermenting the /cacao/ beans, a roof shades the trays on which they are put to dry. Some men have thought of buying Vermorel vaporizers for spraying the cacao trees; others dream of mowing machines for clearing the land.

3. Trade

431 Planters command few sources of income; beside their tool equipment a thousand new needs have arisen, which trade must satisfy.
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437 There is, oddly, no commercial tradition at all among the Pahouin. For bride-price payments previous generations used ivory tusks or pieces of wrought iron in the shape of arrows. But was this a form of money? Nothing was bought, nothing sold. And yet, according to Balandier, the pursuit of wealth represented the men's principal activity (2) aside from routine work, perhaps, moreover, because there was no trade or exchange. From the accounts, it appears that previous generations could only obtain goods from distant countries by *bilaba* and not by purchase. The *bilaba* approximates the potlatch in being a contest. During a visit a host gives his guest all kinds of presents, defying him to do the like. Later the guest will have to offer even more than he received. Thus, exchange and a struggle for prestige are involved at the same time (3). *Bilaba* apparently were means of distributing objects of European origin (salt, weapons, clothes) and of exchanging them for ivory collected in the interior, game, or the dogs that some tribes /34/ eat. In general, it is to such exchanges as these that the old accounts refer. But one can scarcely speak of trade for such ritualized gifts and countergifts. And nothing else warrants the assumption of an economy based on exchange. Between
443 Yaoundé and Brazzaville there are no markets, or, more correctly,
177 the markets that now exist were started by Europeans or at their instigation (1).

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2. Cf. Largeau (no. 48) for the mythical role of the spider in producing merchandise "among the dead." (P. A.)

3. J. Guilbot, *Journal de la Société des Africanistes*, 1951, Vol. 21; G. Balandier, *Sociologie actuelle de l'Afrique noire* /Contemporary Native African Sociology/, P.U.F. /Presses Universitaires de France/, 1955, p. 182.

177 443 1. This lack is also pointed out by Balandier, op. cit., p. 544.

A careful study of village names in several subdivisions has not turned up a name that seems connected with ideas of market, exchange, or trade. Moreover, vocabularies for such subjects are very limited.

And, into this land so unprepared for an economic /sic/ life, world economy is penetrating with all its complexity, setting a purchase price for the total output, which has fluctuations the planters obviously cannot understand. Their dismay is natural, since they have not even been able to become familiar with ideas about price, demand, or bargaining through traditions of trade.

It goes without saying that the time when salt was the item most
431 in demand is long since past. However, bags of salt appear among
258 traditional wedding presents, and the manufacture of salt from lye-
585 washed palm ash is still known, though the product is only sold —
278 and moreover very rarely — for its medicinal properties.

511 Expenditures have become extremely diversified, as shown by the analysis of an average family budget: (2)

2. These figures drawn from Budgets familiaux au Cameroun /Family Budgets in the Cameroons/, p. 150, do not take into account, we must remember, auto consumption.

Food	14	percent	Household articles .	1.9	percent
Textiles	17.4	-	Equipment	7.7	-
Bride price	13	-	Taxes	8.5	-
Housing and furniture . .	7.5	-	Medicaments	1.3	-
Bedding	1.5	-	Education	0.9	-
Lighting and upkeep . . .	3	-	Gifts and miscellaneous . .	6	-
Trips	2	-			

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177 Food now includes, even in the bush, imported items like stock-
511 fish or like the bread, sardines, sugar, and condensed milk that are
291 used less regularly. Clothes are the main item of expense. The
241 desire to follow Paris fashions is perhaps not a national trait peculiar

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511 to Pahouin women, but it is certainly a geographical characteristic of
[291] the southern Cameroons, consequently, the textiles for sale are to a
great extent those sold in Europe. Specifically African prints, such as
"wax-prints," are dying out. Underclothes, stockings, and shoes
reflect the sophistication that goes with wealth. The purchase of
durable goods that go under the heading "Equipment," (bicycles,
phonographs, pressure lamps) is another symptom, as is the changing
[415] demand for household articles. /35/ While the saucepan is still the
basic kitchen utensil, enamelware is in strong competition with
[513] crockery and glass. Blankets are used everywhere, but the use of
sheets is also on the increase.

A mere list of commodities shows the present-day importance of
439 trade. The native populations have not always realized this, owing
441 to their lack of inclination for it. They have not started businesses
and have often left this to immigrants, coastal people long familiar
with European ways, particularly the Bamiléké or "Haoussa," /Hausa/
who for their part have a solid trading tradition and great capacities
in this field. The Boulou especially despise trade and refuse to have
anything to do with it. Other Pahouin peoples are not so strongly
antipathetic, but their business activity remains very limited.

Is it this bankruptcy on the part of the indigenous people and this
443 taking over by "foreigners" which explains the organization and the
184 location of trade in the region? The villages are in fact very badly
444 served; markets are few and far between and so are rural shops. Perhaps we ought to note differences between the various Pahouin and Pahouinized groups. While a village trader is always most uncommon in Boulou country in spite of the relative affluence of the planters, he is not unknown in Ewondo districts and is quite often to be met with among the Eton, where resources are, nevertheless, more limited. Without local trade the collecting of crops and specifically of cacao posed quite a problem, to which the coming of buyers brought a solution. Business houses advance money to the buyers and buy what they are able to bring back. From hut to hut along the trails buyers negotiate purchases with planters. With these "purchases by peddling" it might seem logical for sales by peddling to develop. Yet this phenomenon is quite recent, being tied up with the development of transportation by car and bicycle. But while the buyers are generally native to the region, the pedlars are nearly always foreign.

[654] As house-to-house buying creates countless disadvantages, the administration has endeavored to create rural markets so that the public

184 441 443 [654] nature of the transactions and competition would correct them. These markets represent an attempt at introducing trade into the rural milieu, and they are not restricted to the purchase of cacao and palm trees; some African traders try to sell textiles, hardware, and food products. But the markets are still too new for the custom to have become firmly established, for them to have an existence of their own. It may be that here too we should except certain Eton cantons, where there seem to be some genuinely native rural markets.

443 Although of European origin, the markets held each day in the main
towns of the subdivisions have become entirely a part of the way of
life. Originally they were set up to provide food supplies for the
settlements that grew up around administrative posts /36/ or missions.
Then, professional traders came to offer imported merchandise to
villagers come to sell their garden produce. Nowadays these markets
are routine affairs, drawing their clientèle from a radius of 20 kilometers.
Their importance depends upon that of the particular subdivision.
As an illustration, we may use the following figures from
a study of the market at Sangmélima: 200 women come to sell
vegetables, maize, or fruit grown in their gardens. Some women
dealers in palm oil, after having bought it liter by liter in the bush,
come here with from 10 to 20 liters to sell. Young boys sell cigarettes,
pieces of sugar, sandwiches, or cups of coffee, while women bring
fritters. Side by side with these petty tradesmen others transact
[439] business on a larger scale: about 20 sell dried, smoked fish prepared
on the coast or stockfish (dried and salted) imported from Europe,
while in their stalls 20 "market boys" /sic/ offering textiles, enamelware,
or hardware wait for customers.

[493] The number of craftsmen grouped around the market, the number of cars, lorry-buses /camions amenages/, or bicycles which have brought customers show clearly that this is not an artificial institution. The market is now tending to become one of the elements of the town.

It shares this role with the shops. European and African traders do business along Western lines, both wholesale and retail at the same time. They try to keep on good business terms with the African small dealers who know very well how to go from supplier to supplier to compare merchandise, price, and terms. At the same time they sell directly to the public. Such shops are uncommon outside towns — in this connection as with markets, the villages are little touched by economic activity.

4. Towns

361 This lack of vitality in the bush is understandable if we turn to
621 conditions of settlement: the scattered pattern of settlement is very obvious. There are no villages properly speaking, just a dusting of hamlets. In the Cameroons, the villages are very small, with an average of 230 inhabitants. Furthermore, we are dealing with units in a system of control: their village is divided into many hamlets of from 5 to 20 huts grouped around that of the family head /chef de famille/.

178 In Gabon, Fang leaders are worried about this crumbling apart of the
361 population and have issued slogans for regrouping the villages.
621 Amongst them, indeed, the scattering is perhaps even more marked.
[102] "The average number of inhabitants per village varies from 42 (territory of Mitzic) to 105 around Oyem and to nearly 138 in the Fang canton of Makokou." (1)

> 1. Balandier and Pauvert, Les villages gabonais /Gabonese Villages/, Mémoir, I.E.C.A. /Institut d'Études centrafricaines/, Brazzaville, 1952.

This is not the place for a study of whether scattered settlement is natural in a country where no centralized authority has been imposed, in which the only certain /37/ power was that of the family head, or whether, on the contrary, it evidences a new kind of anarchy, an intensified individualism. We shall merely point out that the
[184] hamlets are larger in Boulou country than in Ewôndo or Bané country, although the former political institutions of the Ewôndo and Bané seem to have given tribal chiefs some political powers and marks of rank, of which there seems to have been no question among the Boulou. The first appearance of centralized political power would seem to coincide with a greater dispersion in settlement.

The fact remains that no center of concentration forced any crystallization whatsoever of an amorphous mass. This fact, closely connected with the absence of trade, clearly indicates the new and artificial character of the towns. They are all of recent origin, and yet they have become a necessity.

463 The role of the towns in the external trade of the region is evident, but their role in regional economy is no less essential. In fact, formerly the population had hardly any specialization, because of limited needs: each group was self-sufficient. No division of labor was prescribed aside from the allotment of tasks to men and women. Only smiths possessed a special technique which allowed them to ply a 326 trade. Yet they were not a caste; a smith could ally himself by marriage with any family whatsoever, and a farmer's son might become a smith.

Everyone could extract iron ore, but only a skilled man who had acquired knowledge and magical power could work metal. Professional differentiation is /sic/ obviously still rudimentary. Perhaps it corresponds to a mediocre technological level: the stock of tools is limited—a stone used as an anvil, an iron bar as a hammer, and a bellows as a forge. The smith does not seem to have been the mysterious and awesome figure found in other societies. At most we may believe that there were sexual prohibitions connected with certain phases of his work, which allows us to assume a magical or religious aspect (1).

113 1. Miss /Mary/ Kingsley, Travels in West Africa, London, 1897; we should note however "an important pottery art, ironwork that deserves particular mention owing to its excellence, a technique for treating latex, an art of plaiting clothes" (in Balandier, "Village fang /Fang Village/, " *Études centrafricaines,* 1951).

463 The small number of objects in use did not require a real division of labor. A piece of grooved ivory was used for beating bark to soften it for the making of clothes. This technique has evidently disappeared. There /were/ a few potteries; the wooden bowls are now replaced by imported ware. One still fairly often finds calling drums, wooden ladles or spoons carved by artisans, and mortars. Spearheads are currently sold in the markets. Crossbows are less and less used, and hunters make their own nets.

Needs which are now more varied have given rise to /36/ many professional specializations. A few are represented in rural districts, 463 but most of the artisans live in towns; there it is that they learned their trades, more easily find materials and tools, there also they believe the multitude will enable them to collect a large number of orders.

Certain crafts are long established, such as tailoring, masonry, and carpentry. But while Pahouin are numerous in the woodworking and building trades, as tailors they frequently have to compete with immigrants. New professions arise, often controlled by foreigners also—photographers, mattress makers, and mechanics. This brief list of the most widespread trades allows one to infer the rise in the standard of living: doors and windows, tables, chairs, wardrobes, beds, mattresses are now in quite general use.

369 166 The towns plan an essential role and are completely integrated into the country, since it is there that the rural people go to have the things made which they need. The mixed character of town populations is astonishing. Immigrants from all regions of the Cameroons or French Equatorial Africa give them a cosmopolitan character, while the bush has not sustained such a complex intermixture.

Nevertheless, we must not exaggerate the antithesis between country people and townsfolk: many countrymen have resided a few years in town and have kept up connections there. Migration away from centers was quite active thirty years ago, and certain Pahouin tribes were largely represented in the timber industry. There has been just as decided a movement toward the towns: "The development of cacao plantations along the Woleu-N'Tem by changing the living conditions of the villagers certainly seems to have been the principal cause of the halt in emigration in 1930." This remark by Sautter about the Fang is also true of the Boulou and —to a lesser degree, perhaps—of the Béti and assimilated tribes more closely pressed together in their habitat.

463 162 Béti, Boulou, or Fang form a petty bourgeoisie rather than a proletariat without resources. The following figures show the relatively small proportion of unskilled laborers (1):

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(1) M. Soret, *Démographie et problèmes urbains en A.E.F.* /Demography and Urban Problems in French Equatorial Africa/, I.F.A.N. /Institut Français d'Afrique Noir/, 1954.

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Occupational Distribution of Pahouin Emigrants in Douala

	Laborers	Artisans	Intellectual Occupations	Traders and Licensed Dealers
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
Beti	37	55	1.9	6
Boulou		60	40	

A study of Dolisie, Baronga, and Poto-Poto makes it possible to establish similar facts for occupations (2). /39/

2. According to J. Guilbot, Petite étude sur la main-d'oeuvre à Douala /A Brief Study of Manpower at Douala/, I. F. A. N. /Institut Français d'Afrique Noir/, the Cameroons, 1947.

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The proportion among them of persons who have education is about 40 percent and, what is even more important, that of the well-educated is relatively high.

Poto-Poto: Cultural Level of "Coastal Forest Dwellers"

Illiterates	Educated	Holders of the C. E. P.*	Holders of the "Brevet"
610	390	111	56

/*Certificat d'etudes primaires, certificate of primary education./

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After spending some time in town, some emigrants return to their native villages, thus diminishing the separation between the two places. The bush folk, in turn, often come to the urban centers (1) and in

1. A set of figures gives the exact number of these trips: in 480 budgets relative to a total of 2, 000 persons, 1, 116 trips were listed (J. Binet, op. cit., p. 112).

369 such a case we gather that each principal town of a subdivision is a
166 genuine center of attraction. Although new these towns are not
artificial. There is another piece of evidence for this, the social-
occupational distribution of the urban population is almost constant
from one town to another, a proof that it corresponds to needs that are
also constant.

463 Out of 100 inhabitants one generally finds: laborers 16.5, em-
162 ployees 12, traders 8.3, chauffeurs 6.9 (and "motor boys" 4.3),
public service employees 6.7, domestic servants 5.8, carpenters 4.9,
masons 4, farmers 3.5, tailors 3.2, mechanics 2.9, photographers
0.8, herders 0.5, catechists 0.1, without occupation 9, etc.

This in general outline is the present-day distribution. Let it simply be kept in mind that, with the diffusion of a new culture, the whole society becomes modified. The techniques and tools in use have been increased and diversified at the same time as social conditions.

Chapter 5

Social Organization

1. Forms of Settlement, Habitat

621 The basic social group is the patriarchal family (nda bot = lit.,
591 house of the people), to which corresponds the hamlet or elementary
village, the jal (Boulou, pl. mal; Fang, Ewôndo, dzal), generally
called by the name of the patriarch (ésa = father; ntôl = eldest, senior),
but sometimes, when isolated, carrying a special toponym (éyôlé =
proper name, designation; a person's name is rather jôé; Fang, édzoé).
These mal are usually arranged into multifamily, sometimes multi-
clan, villages, minlam (sing. nlam), the latter term designating both
the group of dwellings and the soil appertaining to them. The nlam
103 always has a place name of its own, which may refer to its geographical
situation: nkôlayôp = on the hill; to a topographical or botanical
peculiarity: ako'abete = dressed stone, ajap = the name of a tree,
ma'an = crossroads; or to an incident connected with the founding:
ébolewo'o (Ebolowa) = decayed chimpanzee, because the village was

103 set up at a spot where the body of a chimpanzee had been found; menjikôm = from mę nji kômbo, I did not want to, the founding family not having wanted to go any further. /Or the nlam may take its place name/ from a nickname or whimsical name: mañ = sea, the site being considered "as beautiful as the sea"; kamelôn = Kamerun, "because a white man told us that the country would be called thus henceforward; évuzok = elephant's stomach, because of the appetite of its inhabitants, etc. It may also happen that a village name repeats that of its founder's native village, sometimes coupled with an indication like baa = second, mfefé = new, or with the name of its founder or chief, Méyo me Nkulu, the Méyo of Nkulu.

166 621 178 The leapfrog advance of small Pahouin groups at the time of the invasion has already been described. Each of these groups generally corresponded to a hamlet—jal—or to a village—nlam—or, rather, to the corresponding family units, nda bôt or mvôk. The migrating group retained rights to the abandoned site (bilik). Today the migration of whole villages is much less common. Rather, we are witnessing either a "swarming off" of villages that are overpopulated in relation to the amount of land available for plantations (in particular land near a vehicular road, especially in Cameroons), or a kind of explosion or social disintegration, /41/ the latter phenomenon being particularly noticeable among the Fang, where it has been well described by Balandier. Administrative action has often been a prime mover in the latest migrations: in Gabon, for instance, there has been an attempt to move whole villages for administrative, economic, or hygienic reasons, but in doing so collective groups have been broken up that had already been weakened by the disappearance of ancient defense needs and by the economic changes resulting from colonization. The new villages, often reconstituted without taking into account previous clan or family structures, no longer had any cohesion and split up into small rootless hamlets, poorly populated, continually moving their sites in disorderly fashion and usually seeking to escape contact with the administration. Since 1946, especially at the instance of the deputy, Aubame, himself a Fang, there has come into existence in Gabon a movement to regroup villages by clans, the results of which do not seem to have corresponded to the hopes of its promoters.

166 621 The situation is perceptibly different in the Cameroons, where the early introduction of the cultivation of cacao (before 1914 in Ewôndo

166 country and in the north of Boulou country) has put a considerable
621 brake upon village nomadism, the planters not liking to move away
from their plantations. When there is migration, the activity consists
rather in the "swarming off" of a portion of the inhabitants, who go
to found a new hamlet in a site favorable for cultivation, without
there being from then on any necessary correspondence between family
structure and settlement pattern. The new *jal* will no longer nec-
essarily correspond to one family but may gather together several
families from different and unrelated lineages (*mvam*).

361 The Pahouin village of former times was planned for defense.
712 Situated in an oblong clearing, usually within reach of the nearest
[202] village (3 to 4 kilometers) by drum-telephone (*nkul*), it comprised
two lines of contiguous rectangular huts, gable to gable, on either
side of a courtyard or main street (*nseñ*), blocked at either end by a
guardhouse /men's house/ (*aba*, *abeñ*) allowing only a narrow entrance,
often oblique, which was barricaded every evening. All doors gave
onto the *nseñ*; the outer walls having merely a few loopholes. Some-
times the village was encircled by a moat (*ésalak*) and traps, some-
times also by a stockade /*akak*). The most important subsistence
plots (*mefup*) were in the forest, often quite far away, but near the
village behind the huts were banana groves and kitchen gardens, while
medicinal plants (*bilok* *bi* *mebiañ*) as well as tobacco were grown in
342 the central *nseñ*. The hut walls were made of bark (particularly of
certain kinds of Ficus /fig/) which was wetted, then beaten flat and
dried to form boards; these are the "*carbotes*" (from the English word
"cardboard") still in use on the coast. These boards were fastened by
lianas and pegs to posts set in a rectangle. The double pitched roof
was of "tiles" made of raffia folioles (*ôbaé*, pl. *abaé*) folded in two
and pinned with wooden splinters to the scantlings made of /42/ strips
of the main leaf rib set parallel to the ridgepole. This ridgepole
[531] rested on forked posts, of which the two central ones had magical
significance and were usually carved or at least painted. The di-
mensions of these dwelling huts rarely exceeded 6 by 3 meters, while
those of the guardhouses (*meba*) might reach twice this. In each
[352] household the man had his private hut where he kept his most valuable
possessions (*biôm*): chests containing loincloths, etc., weapons,
drums, "medicaments" (*mebiañ*), his own seat, masks, and magical
equipment. The women's huts, side by side with his and where the
young children slept, were used as kitchens and contained carrying

352 baskets, storage baskets (*binaan*), crockery (*viek*), or imported "*negro pots*" /sic/ (*minkeñ*), the drying rack, shrimp nets, mortars, and other feminine implements. The young unmarried men slept in
361 the guardhouse; the girls slept with the women. A *jal* occupied by an average-sized family might be 50 meters long. Large *minlam* reached half a kilometer, in which case the *nseñ* was divided into sections by the secondary *meba* of each family. The chief lived in the middle and had a larger *aba* than those of other families.

177
342 This kind of village has almost entirely disappeared. Bark huts are still extant in a few isolated villages in Gabon, but they are in-
178 creasingly rare. In actual fact, one finds almost everywhere the hut of reinforced banco /wattle and daub?/ (the wattle consists of laths made of the main ribs of raffia, incorrectly called bamboo), imposed on Boulou country around 1925 by an administrator called Nkulu (meaning "the Tornado"), which has left its mark throughout Pahouin country. These huts are usually rectangular but tend, in prosperous villages, to be influenced by European forms, with T-, U-, or H-shapes, with verandas and lean-to showers. They are often plastered with kaolin (*fem*) sometimes mixed with red or green ocher or with imported laundry blueing. The roof is still usually of raffia
514 tile, but it may have four slopes or be even more complicated, copied from European roots. Each family has its own privy (*éduk*).

361 The layout of villages has likewise changed. The most prevalent plan keeps the single central *nseñ* /street/, but the huts are in four lines on either side and are separate, no longer contiguous. The men's huts are nearest the road, the women's, now called *kisin* (*cuisines* /kitchens/), are laid out behind, or sometimes around, the
631 husband's. The plaster is often painted in fresco with various subjects —copies of pictures in magazines, religious subjects, in Boulou country illustrations from the novel *Nnanga kôn* (1), portraits of Europeans famous locally or internationally. The *aba* /guardhouse/ has lost its defensive character and often take the form of an airy

1. The best Boulou painter of recent years was David Monewoso, a Yemfek from Sangmélima, who not only established the iconography of *Nnanga kon* but is also a good portraitist and a remarkable painter of animals.

361 shed with a roof low enough to /43/ give good protection from the sun. Some villages are placed at right angles to the road; others
351 follow an L or Y plan, with several minseñ. Family "allotments" are separated by hedges of euphorbia, castor-oil plant, hibiscus, and
231 bougainvillea. Sometimes one comes across sheepfolds, although in
574 old-style (and most contemporary) villages small livestock roam at will. A village often includes a guesthouse (ayak).

342 In building operations the man generally takes charge of the frame-
462 work and the laths, leaving to the women the preparation and application of the banco /clay daub?/. But European-style huts with their
333 elaborate door frames and often cement floors are more and more
342 the work of specialized artisans, who are paid to supervise the family labor provided by the owner. These men have nevertheless preserved, along with the English term "mason, " the old name nloñ nda, literally, hut-weaver, which goes back to the time when huts were made of sewn bark (1).

342 1. The dwelling continues to evolve: framed doors, windows, and shutters are in general use today. The dimensions of the buildings lead to the construction of a real
556 frame. Finally, to possess a sheet-iron roof is a sign of wealth. In recent years there has arisen a real passion for the improvement of dwelling: in the Cameroons we may estimate that 10 percent of the dwellings now built in the bush are the most modern type. (J. B.)

2. Groupings and Relationships

571 The main divisions of Pahouin society are both exactly defined
121 in the minds of its members themselves and at the same time uncer-
114 tain for the European observer, who is constantly tempted to state
665 them clearly in organic forms accessible to his "logic" and who is hindered by the variations or the dialectal confusions of Pahouin terminology. Father Trilles, basing his observations on the Fang of Gabon alone, reached a sort of palaeontological reconstruction of the "Fang nation, " extremely theoretical, yet not without basis

571 121 114 [765] however, since traces of it can be recognized in the contemporary movement for Pahouin Regrouping represented in the Cameroons by the U. T. N. K. party (N'Tem Kribi Tribal Union). Such /theoretical/ constructs are still rather risky in our present state of knowledge, and it is better to limit ourselves to a pure and simple description, resorting as little as possible to interpretation, which in any case should be done with hesitancy.

128 571 I shall therefore limit muself here to the attempt to perceive Pahouin society on three essential structural levels, while emphasizing again the necessarily arbitrary and incomplete nature of such a proceeding.

These three levels are the most easily perceptible to the European observer and at the same time the most significant, apparently, in the eyes of the Pahouin themselves. These are, what I shall call, for lack of anything better and because they are the terms particularly retained by the administration, the tribe, the clan, and the extended family or village family. Something will also have to be said about intermediate structures such as lineages, segments /fractions/, and village groups, and a little more on the subject of the household or limited family, whose importance is increasing. /44/

a. The Tribe

619 I designate as "tribe" what Trilles calls "group," while he keeps the term "tribe"—as do many observers in Gabon—for what I call "clan." This is because in southern Gabon there is only one "tribe" in the sense I understand, that of the true Fang, or Fang-Fang as Spanish writers call them.

I know of no Pahouin word specifically denoting tribe, Trilles uses the expression mfulane meyoñ, that is, "all of the clans together." In fact, and this is no doubt significant, the term most commonly used is ayoñ, which also denotes what I call clan. Mfulane meyoñ is used particularly when there is occasion to specify that one is referring to a higher structural level, sometimes also referred to as ngum ayoñ, "the clan as a whole," or meyoñ mese, "all the clans." (1) Nevertheless, the tribe is indeed a reality, in spite of this

(1) American translators of the Bible have used ayoñ for "people" as well as for "tribe" and "realm."

uncertainty about the term for it. It is known by a proper name—Fang, Boulou, Ntoumou, Ewôndo, etc. —and its members have an actual feeling of belonging.

Tribes usually inhabit a homogeneous geographical area; but this is not an absolute rule: the Mvaé are divided into two blocks by the Ntoumou, similarly there are isolated Fang nuclei in northern Boulou country.

Earlier (pp. 18-19) we recalled the legend that places the formation of the tribes at the time when the children of the ancestor Afiri Kara separated after crossing the Sanaga. Each tribe would therefore be composed of the descendants of one of these mythical ancestors, /each/ having followed a distinct migration route and later settled down in a specific area of shifting cultivation. This explanation would give us a satisfactory solution, but it contradicts another tradition, apparently better attested, according to which the same clans are to be found within all the tribes. The latter tradition corresponds better with the aspirations toward unity of the "Pahouin nation." The tribes would then be definite groupings composed of the same clans, and at the core of each tribe would be found descendants of several mythical ancestors and not of just a single one, as the first theory has it.

In any case there is no question but that the tribe has a very definite existence and makes itself known, particularly as against adjacent tribes, even though admittedly the latter would be composed of the same clans. Tales of old wars and the spectacle of present-day rivalries are evidence of this.

We should add that some tribes have a traditional origin that is non-Pahouin, although they definitely belong to the group. This is the case with the Mbida-Mbane and the Mvog-Nyenge, who probably are descended from slaves of the Pahouin; with the Fong, who probably derive from the marriage of a Bané to /45/ a Pygmy woman; and perhaps there are others. We shall see that it is difficult in certain cases to know whether to class certain groups among "tribes" or among "clans."

The tribe formerly had no over-all political organization: there is no word exactly denoting "chief." Individuals designated to lead the tribe in war, to represent it in trade or political negotiations, had only a temporary authority, personal, and always open to question. The ties of clan relationship were much stronger and more evident

619 than tribal ties. Nevertheless, politico-religious associations like the
[575] *ngil* did exist—very little is known about them today—which transcended clan barriers and contributed to a certain amount of tribal
554 cohesion. On the other hand, certain individuals could have influence,
619 sometimes authority, but never permanent command, extending beyond the limits of their clan. Usually the people involved were officers in initiation societies: the *nsig nto*, the Bané high judge, was probably a high-ranking initiate in the *ngil*. The *njôô bôt* (commander of men, war leader), the *évet* ("*capita*," caravan leader), the *nkukuma* (1) (*rico hombre*, rich man)—these men on the other hand had only occasional authority and that within a limited circle.

b. The Clan

614 I call "clan" that which the majority of the Pahouin call *ayoñ* (*mvôg*, *mvôk*, in certain northern tribes) (2). It is perhaps the basic structural unit of Pahouin society, at any rate the one the Fang of

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1. Emphatic form of *nkukum* (rich).

2. Cournarie, 1933, in *Coutumes de Nyong et Sanaga* /Customs of the Nyong and Sanaga/ points out that *ayong* were divided into *meyom* (*ayom*). The *ayom* is formed by the coming together of several *mvogo* who, being descended from the same ancestor, consider themselves the issue of the same mother (obligation of exogamy). Occasionally deference is paid to the *mvogo* most closely related to the ancestor, and its head is called *ntomba* or *nya moto nnam* or *mot nnam*.

The collective group may gather together: *Emoi* of *nda bot*, *Ekoan* of *mvogo*. All grown men may speak. Elders and distinguished persons then withdraw for deliberation (*esok*); they return to announce the decision. (J.B.)

614 Gabon have given priority to recreating, the regrouping of villages being supposed, in their view, to take place as a function of the regrouping of the meyoñ.

The ayoñ includes all the patrilineal descendants of a common [848 571] ancestor, the illegitimate children of girls belonging to the ayoñ, and adopted ones. The ayoñ has a name, a tattoo mark (ndan), often certain prohibitions (bityi, biki), and perhaps a totem. The most strict exogamy is the rule. All members call themselves brothers (bobenyañ).

Although there was, properly speaking, no real political division corresponding to the ayoñ, nor any organized chiefship—explicable particularly in view of the very scattered settlement pattern of the members—clan sentiment was, and still is, very strong. Periodical meetings, bisulan, bring ayoñ members together, presided over by the eldest (ntôl) of the senior lineage (mvôk, ayôm) (3). The custom of these bisulan has recently been revived /46/; first in the Cameroons, [182] where the native authority was reorganized in 1945-48 along clan lines, then in Gabon, where the meyoñ are in an advanced state of disintegration, above all in the south.

[361] An ayoñ, whose villages separated one from the other by villages of other clans sometimes extend over several hundred kilometers, is divided into segments (mvôk) that include the descendants of the brothers, or rather the sons, of the clan ancestor, then /is divided/ into lineages (bisa, meyôm) derived from the descendants of the sons of the ancestor of the segment. The longer the genealogy (mvam, nlañ bimvam; meba'a), the more vague these categorical differences become: in one place mvôk is used for what is called ésa nearby and ayôm further away. But, except in southern Gabon, the genealogies are still well preserved, and the majority of adults can trace their relationship, if not to the clan ancestor himself, at least to his [illegible] lineage. The teaching of these genealogies, which was the core of the traditional training of boys, is dying out with the spread of schooling, but children still know at least the genealogy of their village-family (jal, dzal; nda bôt).

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3. Ayôm probably has the same root as nnôm, pl. beyôm = male; it should be remarked that the ayôm is often designated by the name of a female ancestor.

614 619 Trilles listed about 80 meyoñ among the Fang of Gabon, and comparable figures may be set for the Boulou or the Ewôndo, which would tend to cross-check the theory according to which clan ties extend across tribal boundaries to include the whole Pahouin group. The phenomenon does not seem open to question as regards those clans that are to be found under the same name throughout all, or in many, tribes; it is perhaps more questionable for certain Gabon segments that have been more or less arbitrarily absorbed into Cameroons clans at the time of "Pahouin regrouping." Even in the latter case, however, there exists for the pseudo tradition a precedent genuinely rooted in custom, that of tribes like the Yebekolo or the Yembama, whose names suggest that we are dealing with former clans, which became detached from a tribe (the Boulou, in actual fact) and took to practicing endogamy. An analgous process of "clanification" may be imagined of Fang segments too long isolated from their ayoñ.

Be that as it may, this intertribal community of meyoñ is more apparent between the Boulou and Fang tribes, that is, in the south, than between them and the Beti tribes of the north, certain of which, moreover, call the clan mvôg, not ayoñ, a phenomenon perfectly explicable if we admit that the Eton and Mangisa, for instance, are Pahouinized rather than true Pahouin.

614 Each ayoñ has a proper name, which, according to Trilles, would be that of the clan totem preceded by the prefix ésa or ye (segments and lineages are called by the name of the ancestor). Some meyoñ, however, have a name that does not include these particles, but they are generally those groups that possess a particular kind of structure
614 112 to which we shall refer later on (1). The particle ésa derives from the verb sak /47/, a transitive verb meaning "to perform coition" (sa' minga = to copulate with a woman), by extension meaning "to impregnate;" the regular derivative, ésa/bisa, means "lineage," while the irregular form, ésa/beséa, means "father." The particle ye might come from yee, "valley," "hollow," "fissure," perhaps connected with a root Y./YI connoting ideas of moisture, feminity, or maternity

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1. The ébi clans in Gabon are related in the opinion of some writers to the ésa clans; but there is a noun ébi, ébé, meaning hole, ditch.

614 [192] (yii = to weep; yek = to make a fish dam of wet earth; nyia = mother; nyin = four; enyin = life). Sometimes the differences in name have been explained by geographical origin: the ésa clans would be those in the west, the ye clans those in the east. Actually, we find ye clans and ésa clans in all tribes, in the east as well as the west. Yet the geographical explanation should perhaps not be altogether rejected but rather associated with a sexual interpretation.

823 571 614 The Pahouin do, in fact, seem to have ascribed their system of directions to the apparent movement of the sun or, perhaps, to the line of their migration. The west would then be associated with the right, mbo nnôm = male side, the east to the left, mbo ngal = female side (1). This polarity would indicate a series of little-known institutions, first of all, the joking relationship, awusô, derived in turn from the great national sô rite. In fact, I think I observed that the awusô relationship existed almost always between an ésa clan and a ye clan: Esakoé-Yekomba, Esaébeñ-Yenjôk, Esel-Yembôñ, etc. Certain points may also suggest a link with the former marriage custom and a kind of potlatch called bilaba (2).

1. According to Largeau, north is on the right (male), south on the left (female), which is understandable if directions are based on an E-W line of march. See below.

In Zoll'Owambe's description of the bilaba (no. 125) imported merchandise (male?) comes from the north, local merchandise (female) from the south, while he uses to designate the south the term nsak, meaning "interior," "upstream," or "east," a meaning comparable with that of nké, west or downstream.

2. Another explanation makes the ésa clans originally segments of the ye clans; this interpretation could also account for the joking relationship.

614 The problem is not made easier by the knowledge that certain ésa clans identify themselves with ye clans in other tribes and that there

614 are, besides, meyoñ that are outside the system.

614 Among the latter I shall mention the Ndôñ and the Bekôé or Bekwi,
563 to be found under these names in all, or nearly all, the Pahouin tribes.
184 The ethnic substantive Bekôé is simply the plural of a common noun,
nkôé, "dwarf." These people are, it seems, descendants of aborigines,
undoubtedly Pygmies, "adopted" by the tribes at the time of invasion.
Although looked upon as an ayoñ and calling one another brother,
they do not practice exogamy and seem to attach their genealogies to
those of other clans, to which nevertheless they do not belong.

614 The case of the Ndôñ is quite different. They crossed the Sanaga
184 with the other Pahouin, and they are certainly "active" Pahouin.
But they observe endogamy among their three mvôk (Ndôñ Mvu, Ndôñ
Bibak, and Ndôñ Bikoé), which no other Pahouin ayoñ does, at least
to my knowledge. Besides, I believe I noticed /48/ among those of
the southern Cameroons and northern Gabon morphological traits
setting them sharply apart from those of neighboring clans—reddish
[142] color of the skin, frequency of green or greenish-blue eyes—which
[144] might be explained by the inbreeding consequent upon endogamy,
but also perhaps by a different ethnic origin. Another piece of evi-
[326 dence, as insufficiently attested as the foregoing, is that among the
791] Ndôñ I met the last of the smiths and the most feared magicians
among the Boulou and Fang tribes of the Cameroons.

The Ngoé ayoñ also is found under this name in nearly all the Pahouin tribes and, according to Bertaut, among the neighboring Bakoko. The Esel, who are similarly spread throughout the tribes, have non-Pahouin homonyms: /for instance/ the Bantu Esel tribe of the southeastern Cameroons (Moloundou). The name could, however, be a contraction of ésa (ésa-el?). Ngoé and Esel are usually exogamic.

c. The Extended Family or Village Family

596 The term "village family" is no doubt more accurate than the
classic "extended family," both because the nda bôt (house of the
621 people) is the only social group that corresponds exactly to a geo-
graphical form of settlement (the jal or hamlet), and because without the geographical criterion it is difficult to distinguish this /kind of/ family from the intermediate structures between it and the clan, such as segments or lineages (mvôk, bisa). And finally, it is on this

596
621 level that the agencies of authority, of social control, are most in
evidence.

The head of the family is the senior, ntôl or ntôle môt, of the adult
[888] and active men, benya bôtô, "the true men." He is not necessarily
the oldest in age, because infirm old men suffer a genuine capitis
diminutio /a loss of status/. The founder of the hamlet or his eldest
son can still, even if infirm, preserve a certain moral authority as
father, ésa, of the family, but actual authority will then be delegated
to a nya môtô chosen from his brothers, sons, or nephews, the éfo'olo
(Bertaut). In principle, a jal is composed of the founder, his old relatives /parents/, his younger brothers, his children and those of his
sisters, his unmarried sisters, their illegitimate children and those of
his daughters. Wives do not belong to the jal; their village is referred
[596] to as jañ. Of a divorced woman one would say, a keya jañ, "she
has gone back to her village." The size of the nda bôt depends upon
different factors: security, the /family/ head's authority, the fertility
of the soil, etc. I have already pointed out how several mal can be
[178] gathered into a nlam, a proper village. Nowadays the menda me bôt
are tending to decrease numerically and no longer to correspond to
the jal, which can from now on combine several /menda me bôt/.
The limited or household family is becoming more and more important,
[622] while the government-sponsored institution of village chiefship
/chefferie/, although it is often only an imperfect substitute for the
authority of the ntôl or the ésa, undermines that none the less. The
size of an average nda bôt may be calculated at twenty /49/ persons
(including the wives who do not belong to the jal), less in the towns
and among the less prosperous people, more among large planters
and the influential (minkukum).

596 The nda bôt used to be a religious, military, and economic unit.
On the religious plane, the father, ésa, was the custodian of the biéti
[778] (Fang, biéri), the portable altar or ark of the ancestral cult containing
the skulls of the ancestors; he made the decisions about initiations
and bore their expense. The initiations have died out, and the
[777] missions have burned dozens, if not hundreds, of biéri. Security and
colonial order have removed any interest in the ésa's military function.
Only his economic role survives to some extent. He used to be the
596 sole owner of the family goods (biôm), sole treasurer of income, and
180 sole regulator of expenditures, of which the most important was the
166 payment of "bride prices" (minsuba) for his younger brothers and his

596 sons. When cacao was introduced, cultivation was done collectively
182 by the nda bôt, with the ésa selling the produce and taking charge of
166 the money. The younger generation quickly tired of this state of affairs and left their families in order to have plantations of their own. In addition, the inflation of land values from the growing of export crops led to division upon the death of the ésa and brought on the splintering of the nda bôt. This had never been very stable, even before the colonial period, but the cessation of military needs made possible a precocious "swarming off," which had not occurred before except when a new nda bôt was large enough to provide for its own defense.

In spite of this disintegration, jal and nda bôt remain the basic units of Pahouin life, more so than the ayoñ. Development of private property notwithstanding, there does exist a juridical community with collective responsibility and obligatory self-help among its members. Many young people denounce this (cf. Eza Boto, Ville cruelle /Cruel City/, no. 182) and partly leave the jal in order to escape. But that is futile because the ties spread throughout the country become closer at a distance /from the jal/ and because the solidarity of the extended family is probably even stronger among emigrants than among stay-at-homes.

d. The Limited or Household Family; Kinship

596 The limited or household family, composed of an economically
592 independent man, his wife, his children, sometimes old relatives
/parents/, unmarried brothers and sisters, is becoming more and more
important, both within the nda bôt framework and outside it. The
[797] missions have contributed a good deal to this, especially at the outset
of evangelical activity, in order to separate the catechumens from their still animistic mintô mi bôt (they incline to react in the opposite direction nowadays to fight against "destructive individualism"). But economic changes have also played an important part. The household family is the unit of the migrant petty official, of the small-scale planter. There is no word for it; people say either mone nda bôt, "little extended family," or simply nda, "house."

Purely for convenience I shall discuss kinship on this level, in terms of an adult married man. /50/

582 The first principle regulating kinship is that of double exogamy, in the paternal line, but also in the maternal line. Marriage is not allowed within one's own clan, nor within the clan of one's mother. Incest within the maternal clan is scarcely less serious than incest within the paternal clan, but the interdiction in this line is not definitive and hereditary. At the present time the prohibition seems to die out after two generations: a great-grandson may take a wife from the clans of his maternal great-grandmothers, and even a grandson from that of his maternal grandmother. It is another matter in the paternal line, whose genealogy children learn by heart. However, on account of the present state of forgetfulness, I do not know the exact rules.

601 A second characteristic of kinship is that it is classificatory and that the nomenclature is modified as to person, sometimes as to gender, in accordance with the subject of the relationship. Thus "father" or "mother," for instance, are called:

1st person	2nd person	3rd person
tate	éso	ésa
nane	nyua	nyia

according to whether there is involved a relative of the speaker, of the person spoken to, or of the person spoken about.

For "brother" and "sister" the terms furthermore vary according to the sex of the subject of the relationship:

monyañ (a contraction of moneyañ (1) = mother's son) = brother of a man or sister of a woman of the clan; while
the sister of a man = kal,
the brother of a woman = ndôm.

A man's son is ndôman, his daughter is ngon; a woman's /son and daughter/ are simply bon (sing. mon), "the little ones."

601 The generic /terms/ of kinship are formed from these words, for
602 instance:

1. Third person: — nyañ, from nyia, "mother;" 1st person, mojañ: — jañ, the same word as jañ = jal, "mother's native hamlet."

601 ndômenyañ (3rd person) = mother's brother, designating the
602 maternal uncle and all his bobenyañ (clan or consanguineal
brothers); this is a respect relationship;

motate, a contraction of mone tate = son of my father, designating half brothers on the father's side, with an idea of respect;

monekal = sister's son, designating nephews and uterine cousins with whom marriage is forbidden, although they belong to a different ayoñ; this is a joking relationship; the same term is applied to brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law;

monengon = daughter's son, designating uterine relatives within
[848] the clan and particularly sisters' illegitimate children, who are
members of the clan but with a certain capitis diminutio, loss
of status;

and so forth, relationship always being reckoned by clan, generation, and sex. This is borne out by the way ethnic constructions are formed: a Boulou, a /51/ Yenjôk, are mone bulu, mone yenjôk, a "child of Boulou," a "child of Yenjôk"; a Boulou woman is ngone bulu, a "daughter of Boulou"; two bo'be yenjôk would therefore be brothers, bobenyañ. What is curious is that this term, the most frequently employed for full brother or half brother on the father's side, clearly refers to a uterine relationship, since it means, literally, "mother's son."

Kinship in relation to order of generations (ndaé = grandchild; éndil = great-grandchild) entered into the choice of a name (éyôlé), /a practice that is/ not well understood at present. Even at the present, similarity of biyôlé creates a sort of quasi relationship between the homonyms mimbôm (sing. mbôm) or bemôé (sing. môé), with the obligation of reciprocal help.

Parents-in-law are betyi (possibly related to étyi = prohibition?); we shall mention this again in connection with marriage, but it may be pointed out here that the term is applied equally to the first wife considered with respect to her co-wives.

e. Marriage, Descent

582 The primary rule of marriage remains the prohibition against incest, the clan exogamy already mentioned. To take a wife from one's own or one's mother's clan is forbidden, also to marry the daughters of lineage sisters to quite a distant degree, even though

582 they belong to another clan. This is merely the application of exogamy to the maternal line and is less observed than the other rule of exogamy.

582
583 Having established this, we may distinguish several forms of marriage—Bertaut counts seven—or, on the contrary, consider them all to be derived from "regular marriage," *mfañ aluk* (from *fañ* = to do well, correctly, and *luk* = to marry). This kind of marriage is based on the payment of the "bride price," *nsuba*, nowadays essentially monetary and giving rise to abuses that have often been described, but in former times it was ritual in character, at least partially so (a century ago there was already a commercial element). [431] The "bride price" of the past included local products (ivory, cattle) (1), imported merchandise (*biôm*), especially loincloths, guns and [432] ammunition, salt, trade alcohol, and, finally, a special iron currency in the form of flat arrowheads tied into bundles (*bityé*, *biki*; *bikpwelé*; the unit of count being the bundle, *akutu bikpwelé*). The last was used only for ritual or magical purposes (2). There are reasons for believing that the composition of bride prices in local products and merchandise varied according to clan structure, the affiliation of the spouses, and the marriages previously concluded by the group. Nothing of this survives today, and the bride price has become a bargaining, at times pretty sordid, even a real /52/ auction, with the bride often the first to boast of the high price she has obtained in the marriage market.

[582]
584 Marriage not long ago was, and still in a measure remains, a group affair, the concern of the two *meyoñ* and two *menda me bôt* involved, which is discussed between the head of the young man's family and the guardian responsible for the future wife, *nya ndômô*, "true brother," that is, an ascendant paternal relative or paternal

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[231] 1. The bride-price sheep, *bikiga* or *bityiga*, up to seven, which were in theory bred with a special view to payment of the *nsuba* and were sacrificed at the time of the marriage.

[326] 2. There is a prohibition against making them; all those to be seen look old.

584 uncle, a full brother or a half brother on the father's side. The custom
persists in the better families, even if the future spouses' consent is
asked or if the initiative for the union comes from them. When this
is impossible, for instance among emigrants, it is still the correct
thing for the prospective husband to use the offices of an older person,
perhaps even an administrative superior, who arranges the marriage,
[583] kômesan aluk. To the nsuba proper are added customary presents to
the future mother-in-law and affinal family, which are the more im-
portant when payment of the nsuba is in periodic installments (as it
more and more tends to be). After the first installment is paid, there
[836] is a bethrothal, and the young girl, who before that has enjoyed sexual
freedom, is from now on theoretically supposed to be faithful. Sexual
relations with the prospective husband often begin at this time, if they
have not already. The Christian ceremony and the civil registry
take place when a portion of the bride price, amounting to from a
quarter to a half, has been paid. In former times the bride used to
remain in seclusion before going in procession from her village,
where the groom's family came to fetch her, to her conjugal residence.
After consummation of the marriage, she would with her mother's
help cook the first meal served to her husband. These practices have
fallen into general disuse.

Up to a recent date, on the other hand, the custom persisted—now prohibited officially—of "paying bride price" for a girl who had not reached puberty, even for a fetus or an unconceived child, who would go to live with her affinal family almost as soon as she was weaned, there to be brought up either by her mother-in-law or by her husband's first wife, whom she would look upon as her ntyi (mother-in-law). The marriage would be consummated after the girl's second menstruation (ayene ngon = to see the moon).

583 The mfañ aluk form of marriage is the most usual nowadays. It
leads to many lawsuits in connection with deciding who is to be the
[691] nya ndômô to collect the "bride price." As the ntôl môt's authority
has weakened, especially when he is not the girl's real father /sic/,
uncles and brothers quarrel over who is to receive the nsuba. Some
emancipated young women, particularly those who are mistresses of
Europeans, decide the matter by collecting it themselves, but this is
very much frowned on.

[586] The "bride price" is given back to the husband in the case of di-
vorce, to the fiancé in the case of a broken betrothal, caused, for
example, by the premature death of the fiancée.

583 example, by the premature death of the fiancée. Almost all customary courts now refuse /to uphold/ repayment when a woman has died without issue, as was the old custom.

The other forms of marriage were *abom*, marriage by abduction, which was regularized by later payment of the "bride price" (*meso* [426] *ngon* = arrival of the girl); putting in pawn for debt, which was made permanent /53/ by nonrepayment; *éjian*, substitution for a fiancée deceased before marriage or for a wife who died without issue (in such cases a younger sister of the dead woman was often provided); [682] *tañ abim*, corpse price, that is, the giving in payment of a young woman as blood money after a homicide; exchange of women between clans, usually on the occasion of an alliance /i.e. through marriage/, *élat* (1).

1. *Elat* = alliance, agreement; *bilelat* = kindred, the whole body of relatives and affinal kin.

837 Exchange or loan of women, *mvia*, was perhaps a form of hospitable prostitution. It apparently did not apply to the *benya binga*, the "true wives," in any case never to the *ôsua minga*, the first wife, [586] who would have considered it a reason for divorce without repayment of bride price. In the same way, *nkuan*, sale, was not the equivalent [426] of marriage and must have applied mainly to foreigners, though perhaps sometimes to Pahouin girls pawned and not redeemed.

587 428 The inheritance of widows did not automatically have the same value as marriage. It was usually permitted only between succeeding generations——from father to son, from elder to younger brother; inheriting by an older from a younger brother appears in recent law. Furthermore, the heir possessed the right of renunciation, except with respect to his mother, whom he had to support but whom he would naturally not make his wife. He could send other widows back to their families, keeping their children, who belonged to his clan. 587 583 To require repayment of the bride price for a widow's "liberation" seems to be a recent deviation; in the past this custom must have applied only to barren women or to those whose children had not lived, but only when they returned to live with their families without remarrying. The moment a widow remarried outside the family of her deceased husband, the "bride price" went to the latter's heirs, and

587 the law has not changed on this point. "No bride price, no marriage"
583 —Sa nsuba, ve alu' e se kik. We shall find this principle again in
connection with legitimate descent.

583 Thus it is the absence of payment of the nsuba that gives their
837 character to free union, ébon, and to adultery, mejian, and makes
them really infringements upon the law of property, justifying the fact
[684] that customary courts logically refuse to impose a penalty in a case
of ébon when the girl returns to her family pregnant (2).

2. This is hard for some magistrates to understand.

581 A husband must provide his wife with lodging and clothes and
593 must clothe any children he has by her. He must clear the field she
will cultivate, provide her with household utensils and, in theory,
with meat. He must allow her to visit her parents, to whom he owes
respect. He must not use sorcery (3) against her and must respect the

[586
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754] 3. Likened to sorcery are fellatio and sodomy, the grounds for numerous divorces from former members of native infantry regiments.

[833] prerogatives of rank that she holds among her co-wives; he is supposed
to sleep with her when she is not menstruating nor pregnant nor nursing.
[834] He must not beat her beyond what she can stand nor expose her vulva
in public. /54/

A woman owes obedience to her husband, to her mother-in-law,
and to the first wife, respect to her affinal relatives, therefore to her
husband's clan; she must be faithful to her husband and perform her
conjugal duty. She is responsible for cultivating the plots cleared for
her, for fishing with weirs, for feeding her children, taking her turn
at cooking for her husband, for keeping her hut clean and that of her
husband when she is sleeping with him, and for helping to build them
(it is she who applies the banco onto the frame). She does not have
to take care of imported household equipment and clothes because
these are biôm of a masculine nature (but the schools and missions
[842] are trying to train women to do so). Finally, and above all, she
must be prolific: this is her first duty and a great deal will be forgiven
her if she performs it.

595 The first wife, married by mfañ aluk, a proper wedding, and called ôsua minga or ékômba, theoretically has a privileged position vis-à-[606] vis the mimbom or co-wives. It falls to her to aid or replace the mother-in-law, ntyi, in her role of disciplinarian over the women of the nda. It is or was she who took over the training of the young immature brides waiting to reach puberty in her hut; co-wives of inferior rank therefore often looked upon her as their ntyi. This relationship of daughter-in-law and mother-in-law also exists between two mimbom when the nsuba of the second was paid with the nsuba received for the marriage of a daughter of the first, or when she was the object of a marriage by exchange for this daughter.

Against these legal prerogatives, we find the actual prerogatives of the favorite, nkpwek or ntômba (ntômba = ewe), who besides may be the ôsua minga, although this is rather rare. Custom recognizes the actual privileges of the nkpwek by limiting them so as to prevent them from becoming privatives of the rights of the other wives. I think, although I cannot state it for certain, that there exists, besides, a nuance between the terms nkpwek and ntômba, the first referring, as the word indicates, to an actual preference on the part of the husband, the second to a legal position which the most prolific of the wives would have, or perhaps the one of the best origin.

614 Let us remember that marriage does not remove a woman from her own clan to attach her to her husband's: she is connected with this clan only through her children, if she has any. These children and their bobenyañ will become bobekal to their matrilineal cousins.
586 If the marriage breaks up without the woman having borne a child, a kinship relation between the two clans is not established.

Such a dissolution of a marriage may come about, first, upon the death of the woman when no éjian takes place, the substitution of a sister, which is rare today. The kinship tie between the clans is in force if children are born of the marriage; it remained in force in former times in the absence of children if the nsuba was not repaid. The husband's death ends the personal marriage tie but not the collective bond by virtue of which widows are assigned to the heir, as described above. /55/

One of the most frequent causes /sic/ of the dissolution of a marriage nowadays is divorce. This may be the husband's action: a suu minga jañ, he sends his wife back to her village. The grounds usually given are habitual misbehavior, sorcery, "bad character," 586 sterility. In theory, if the facts are self-evident, the repudiating husband ought to obtain ipso facto the return of the nsuba, reduced, however, in proportion to the number of children the repudiated woman has borne him. In practice, the nya ndômô usually makes difficulties and postpones repayment until the woman's remarriage and his collecting the new bride price (1).

1. But nowadays it is common to see the second husband pay the nsuba directly to the first husband, giving the nya ndômô only the eventual increment.

The woman can also take the initiative in divorce: a ke jañ dé; she goes back to her father, blaming the excessive stinginess of the husband who "takes bad care of her," a ba'ale nye abe, his impotence, brutal treatment, or sorcery, or even a grievous insult to her or to her parents. Repayment of the nsuba is obligatory in this case too, except when the husband has committed a very serious offense, usually sorcery or mutilation of the woman.

Finally, divorce may be the action of the woman's nya ndômô: a vaa minga aluk, he withdraws the woman from the marriage, either because ~~he~~ considers her badly treated or because he thinks he has been insulted by his son-in-law or particularly—and more and more often nowadays—because the nsuba has not been entirely paid, or even because he has found another prospective husband willing to pay a higher nsuba. We then witness a real process of extortion, with the nya ndômô relentlessly demanding new presents from the husband under the threat of taking back his daughter. The courts concerned with checking abuses /les tribunaux repressifs/ are almost powerless to penalize these practices, which are very hard to define according to the penal code.

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848 In every case legitimate children remain with their father; the woman can only keep custody of them until they are weaned. The proverb pater is est has its Pahouin equivalent: Mon ase mone mbiaé, mon ane mone bityé, "a child is not the child of the genitor, he is the child of the 'bride price' (bityé = bride-price money). In principle, only a child born after payment of the nsuba in full is considered legitimate; in practice, a sort of legitimation by payment after birth is recognized when first payments of the nsuba have already been

586 made, but this practice is only very rarely followed in cases of free
851 union, ébon, even when that is followed by a regular marriage of the
848 natural parents. Illegitimate children, fruits of an ébon, bobengon,
are kept in their mother's clan, where, moreover, they rank socially
only after legitimate children.

597 There used to exist a kind of adoption, rare today, of a political
614 rather than family nature, which could almost be defined as naturali-
641 zation. It could only be carried out by the head of an extended family
on behalf of an orphan, mone nyui, of another clan (orphans within
/56/ the clan being, of course, already considered children of the
head of the family). The adopted child, abiaé môsô (i.e., "conceived
833 in the daytime," sexual relations being lawful only between sundown
and sunrise), came into the clan with a status analogous to that of
the monengon. He remained subject to the marriage prohibitions of
his clan of origin.

609 A non-Pahouin outsider permanently residing in a village, a ntabe,
614 may benefit through marriage by alliance, élat, which does not there-
by make him a member of the clan. He becomes a monekal (sister's
son, uterine relative) and his children, though legitimate, belong to
their mother's clan.

593 The descent relationship may be broken by paternal or maternal
578 curse, meyo'é: the parent uttering the curse shows the child his
sexual organs, "the place whence he came," while pronouncing a
formula oath. The curse is supposed to bring misfortune and death
to the offspring accursed, whom everyone avoids. It can only be
783 lifted by a collective purificatory rite (étye, tyô) in which the whole
nda bôt participates.

3. Age Grades

561 The individual's life cycle is marked by a certain number of
transitions, which are accompanied, or were usually accompanied, by
rites that will be discussed further on (p. 115). These crises are birth,
weaning, puberty, attaining majority, marriage, death. Age
grades correspond to the intermediate stages; they are less strictly
defined today than formerly.

561 I do not know the exact word for fetus: people say abum, belly.
843 There must be a more precise term, but I think there is a prohibiton
connected with it, certainly as regards men, although it may now be

561 no more than a mere conventional taboo, as with certain words con-
843 sidered crude in French. At birth and until weaning a baby is ntyen
(nken) or nkeñelé.

862 After weaning, which usually occurs when the child begins to walk
by itself, between eighteen months and two years, the nken becomes
a mongô (mone fam = boy; mone minga = girl); an uncircumcised
561 boy is called more specifically nsôsôl.

881 Circumcision takes place between eight and twelve years of age
304 (1), before the first premonitory signs of puberty, especially the appearance of the first pubic hair (afañ, related to the verb fañ = to do well, correctly, on purpose, from the masculine root FA?). The circumcised boy, ntyi'an, "cut one," becomes an adolescent, ndôman, a term also meaning "son" (in relation to a man, see above, p. 63). Correspondingly, a pubescent girl becomes ngon (which can mean at the same time young girl, daughter of a man, or moon: ayene ngon, "to see the moon," that is, to be menstruating), or also élenan. /57/

The adolescent boy is still ébis, uninitiated. The missions have now adopted the term mvôn, "initiated," to denote church members. Formerly, one became mvôn after initiation, mostly in the great national so initiation, the members of which were called monewôsô (probably "child of the death /la mort/ of the sô"; compare this with the joking relationship, awusô = the dying /le mourir/ of the sô).

561 After initiation, that is, somewhere between the sixteenth and
882 twentieth year, a young man though of military age was not yet a
nya môtô, a true person. This he became only upon marriage, when
884 he attained what might be considered his legal, civil, even economic,
majority.

561 A girl, ngon, who became ngal or nya ngal, a true woman, by
885 losing her virginity, after marriage was nya minga, a /married/ lady,
and ésila or ékua, a matron, when she had brought up her first children. A man with grandchildren was ntole môt, an elder, usually
888 around forty; this was the highest possible social position. Indeed,

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1. In former times it was sometimes put off until the youth had killed his first enemy. See Trilles (no. 166) and Largeau (no. 48).

561 an old man, nnôm môt, who lived too long lost his prestige as he be-
888 came decrepit. It seems probable that during the great migrations old people, particularly feeble old women, were abandoned in the forest when a village moved its site. Certainly death must often have come before the infirmities of age, from fighting, hunting, or the first serious illness. My informants were always unanimous in telling me
[769] that the skull of an infirm or senile old man could not be used in the biéri cult.

With the second generation of descendants, a man, alive or dead, inevitably becomes émvam, a forefather, in the double sense of grandfather and ancestor.

561 An age grade covers about three years: this is about the longest possible stretch of time during which two children born on different dates can both be at the breast together, and it was approximately the interval separating two large collective initiation ceremonies. Classificatory kinship groups people by generation: all those of one generation are bobenyañ, brothers, as mentioned above. Within an age grade the term éjula, "comrade," is more apt to be used. The succession of age grades created an internal hierarchy within the generation and strengthened the clan and tribal ties between the bijula. This strengthening was even more marked between the bo'bewôsô of the same time of initiation.

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561 Modern life alters these ties, as much from the dying out or transformation of the initiations as from the loosening of ties in the extended family and also from the greater mobility of individuals and limited families. The little Fang boy born at Fort-Lamy, where his father is postal agent, scarcely feels himself to be the éjula of his clan monyañ born on the same day at Libreville. Economic and political development tends more and more to set up hierarchies founded more on occupation, wealth, even education, rather than on age and rank in the family. /58/

4. Slavery, Castes, Classes, Chiefdoms

567 Largeau spoke of the Pahouin as of a "people who have no synonym for our words 'king,' 'master,' 'servant,' 'workman,' 'slave.'" It is a fine phrase, but it only partially corresponds to reality. Largeau himself, in his encyclopedia, translates the word "slave" as nsagha, a loan word from Gabonese (Mpongwé), he says. Further north, people

567 spoke of ôlo (or mon ôlo) or étu'a as against nti (nté) or mo'nti, the
latter word meaning freeman, civis. However, all the late nineteenth
century writers agree that the Pahouin did not know of slavery and,
closer to our period, L. Mba repeats the assertion, declaring that belô
[727] or minsagha were not slaves but prisoners of war "considered part of
the spoils" (no. 120).

Nevertheless, it does indeed seem that there were genuine com-
567 mercial transactions, selling and buying of these captives or, at any
727 rate, of the bitu'a, whose position must have been different from that
of the bo' belo. The latter were more likely prisoners subject to
ransom (ngôtô = ransom) or hostages; I have personally known elderly
Boulou men of good family who were prisoners of the Bané in the way
after the 1885 ôban /war/. They had been treated as men not as
chattel, taking part in noble masculine activities such as hunting, but
not in work considered menial like porterage. Some of them married
Bané girls at the time of the treaty which followed the ôban; others
were adopted by Bané clans. In their case one certainly could not
speak of slavery.

567 The position was not the same for the bitu'a (1), who were, as I
made the objects of commercial transactions, of sales, and not
simply put in pawn. First lieutenant Dominick, for instance, bought
outright from Ewôndo chiefs part of his complement of porters.
These bitu'a were not Pahouin but foreign prisoners from neighboring
tribes or the original inhabitants of conquered territory. Therefore
it is perhaps correct to say that the Pahouin had no slaves among
themselves of their own, but not that they were unacquainted with
slavery. They certainly made little use of it, preferring to exchange
captives for merchandise from the coastal or river tribes who spe-
cialized in trade. Besides, the children of belô or of bitu'a born
within a clan must have been pretty easily absorbed if one of the
parents belonged to the clan.

563 At the present time, in any case, the distinction between bo' beti
565 and bo' belo is very fine drawn (2), not to say obliterated, if only

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[304] 1. Sometimes called bityi'ityi'a, the
mutilated, the gashed, because their
ears were slashed.

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2. This division of the population into three categories, noble tribes (Beti), vassal but free tribes, and servile groups, is still evident in certain border regions: the ethnic map in manuscript prepared by the government officer Botti (in accordance with the 1954 genealogical census, of the Okola subdivision (Nyong and Sanaga, the Cameroons) distinguishes between the Eton Beti (lords), the Eton Beloa (vassals), and the Beloa Beton (enslaved). (J. B.)

because /59/ people tend to forget genealogies. Nevertheless, there
F survives a condition that is not without a suggestion of serfdom, that
P of the Pygmies. They would appear to belong to three "tribes" —
563 Babinga /Binga/ in the east, Bibaya in the center, Beye'ele or Bajieli
565 /Jelli (Bayele, Badiele)/ in the west. They live in small family bands and are nomadic hunters within a limited area. These small hordes are said to "belong" to Pahouin families or individuals. The Pygmies hunt for their "owner," keep him supplied with meat, skins, ivory, medicinal plants and receive from him in return salt, spearheads, sabers, cloth, and cultivated foodstuffs. They do not have the right—and this is the important point—to carry on such dealings with another "owner," and the "owner" may prosecute anyone infringing his monopoly. Even more, he has a feudal lord's right of pursuit /droit de suite/ should "his" Pygmies try to escape and to become nomadic inhabitants in the territory of another village. He may also cede his rights over "his" Pygmies to another Pahouin, but not the Pygmies themselves. Here again then there is no slavery in the Roman sense of the word. Moreover, it appears that the "owner's" rights over "his" Pygmies derive originally from a reciprocal contract, a sort of alliance between the two groups, the balance of which was later upset in favor of the invaders. Within recent years a trend may be observed toward the emancipation of the Pygmies. They are now very crossbred; they use the language of their masters and seem to have preserved of their own only the technical and ritual vocabulary, of which the little that is known appears to be related for the most part to the dialects of Bantu tribes driven back by the Pahouin invasion. Crossbred groups that have been sedentary for several generations, the

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F P 563 515 Bekôé, are now assimilated and are considered a special Pahouin ayôn (see above, p. 54). But the nomadic groups themselves are beginning to give up the obligatory intermediation of the Pahouin in order to sell their game; they are to be seen at markets and even in government offices and in the courts.

F 609 Foreigners, bone bikul (ékul = foreign tribe), had no rights except as guests or hosts, beyeñ (sing. nneñ), which means that they had in fact to buy security. Since European conquest there has been an increase in the betabe (from tabe = to stay, to dwell), privileged strangers admitted to residence by the head of a family or village, often allied by marriage to the clan amid which they have settled. Their children can be absorbed but are not true bo'beti, at least not in the first generations.

F 56 Thus truly Pahouin society was and remains very much a closed one, since entrance into it is, in practice, only by blood. On the other hand, it is very little stratified internally, outside of age grades; it might even be said to be averse to hierarchies.

F 564 At first one is rather tempted to conclude that there are no castes. This statement is perhaps too sweeping, if we take into consideration the fact that certain endogamous clans like the Ndôñ are perhaps castes or represent former castes. The subject deserves further study. /60/

F 556 565 Does Pahouin society admit of social classes based on birth or wealth? In spite of the egalitarian and anarchic temperament of the Pahouin, I think this is so. Terminology proves it by distinguishing the bo' beti not only from the captives but even from the zesé bôt, the humble people: mo'nti is often translated today as "Monsieur." Within the last two generations there has grown up before our eyes a real bourgeoisie of large-scale planters, clerks (bekilak), artisans, and skilled workmen, which is inclined to stand out against a lower class of small peasants, laborers, and even, at the moment, of a "proletariat in sunglasses" —petty tradesmen, etc. —a local equivalent of our white-collar workers. Already in traditional society the minkukum, the rich, were to be distinguished from the common people, the zesé bôt.

556 565 431 437 The rich were looked at askance and were objects of suspicion to the general public, always quick to attribute material success to the possession of an évu (évur, évus), to malevolent sorcery. The

556 *nkukum* had to excuse his wealth, primarily by distributing it through
565 customary hospitality and also by a special device of economic-social
431 control resembling the potlatch, the *bilaba*.
437 This practice seems to have been especially common among the Boulou. Bertaut relates the word to a Ngumba root meaning "to talk," "to cajole." I should rather incline toward a derivative of the verb *lap*, "to draw water," by extension "to splash," which can figuratively also convey the idea of scoffing. It is not impossible that the *bilaba* mechanism was connected with that of the joking relationship, *awusô*. The *bilaba* begins with a challenge from one *nkukum* to another, each man claiming to be the richer. The challenger goes to the house of the challenged, carrying a load of merchandise, *mebo me dulu*, "legs for the journey," and accompanied by a large retinue of musicians and singers, etc. When he reaches the home of the other *njem bilaba* (*bilaba* dancer), he overwhelms him with presents and taunts; his opposite number replies, present for present and jeer for jeer, until he has contributed more than the equivalent of the *mebo me dulu*. The first *njem bilaba* goes home and waits for the other's return visit with his own *mebo me dulu*. Visits and countervisits may go on for a long time, each of the *bejem bilaba* calling on his immediate family for help, then upon his lineage or clan, for continued supplies. The *bilaba* therefore comes to be a collective affair. It must be observed that not just any kind of merchandise is exchanged: a *njem bilaba* in the east (*nku*, *ôku*) provides local products, (livestock, cacao, ivory, etc.), in the west (*nké*) imported products (loincloths,
823 salt, powder, etc.) (1). It should be remembered /61/ in this
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1. M. Zoll'Owambe (no. 125) speaks of *akum so*, "merchandise of the north," imports, and of *akum nsak*, "merchandise of the south," products of the country. But there appears to have been some confusion. In fact, *so* = coast, downstream, is related to *nké* = west, which also means downstream, while *nsak* = hinterland, upstream (*nku* = east, related to *kui* = to come from, rise from, emerge); cf. Largeau, who considers the north to be on the right (male) and the south on the left (female). Imported products would be considered male.

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552 connection that the points of the compass have a sexual implication,
525 which is not well understood. The bilaba sets up a sort of joking re-
623 lationship between the families of the participants, which may con-
831 tinue after their death.

The institution seems to be dying out, though it was still flourishing between the two /World?/ wars and often involved considerable amounts of money (1).

> 1. Balandier (no. 175, and in a personal communication) stresses the economic importance of the bilaba which, in a society without a money or trade economy, constituted one of the principal means of circulating goods and, especially, of diffusing imported commodities.

556 622 In spite of the fear his success inspires, and perhaps because of this fear, the rich man enjoyed undoubted authority in his village and sometimes beyond it. Nkukuma, the absolute form of nkukum, is used to translate "chief" (it probably means, more precisely, "person of note").

554 622 The word évet, also applied to subchiefs or government "capitas" is likewise used —a correct nuance if, as Bates says, évet is a corruption of headman applied originally to the chiefs of trade caravans. These men were chosen for their business astuteness, diplomacy, authority, and courage, but they were only deputies of a clan or village, not true political chiefs. To convey the latter implication the preferable term is still njôô bôt (Fang, nzoé mur) from jô = to say, to command, a term indicating a de facto state, /état de fait/ rather than a legal notion. It should be recalled that there were no political leaders other than the seniors, mintôl, of the extended families. Their authority was further limited by the ease with which their brothers could leave the village to establish another nearby (2).

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> 2. But among some Pahouinized peoples the existence of royal insignia shows that chiefship /chefferie/ is an institution: among the Ewôndo and Yanda the head of the clan designated his successor or, if he

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> 622 had not done so, the clan chose its chief, and the neighboring populations each sent him a spear in token of recognition.
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> [534] The power of the Fong chief is on an even more personal level. The chief conveys his commands by means of an enormous drum; his pipe is preserved like a relic; his musicians play special instruments, among them the nkeñ (percussion double bell), quite rare in that region but a classical instrument in the western Cameroons with the Bamiléké or Bamoum /Mum/. [293 237] The chief's installation is marked by the tradition of the spears and the donning of a headpiece of parrot plumes. (J. B.)

Any more extensive authority was founded on personal prestige, which always aroused resentment. Authority was never conferred except temporarily, and it was quite often withdrawn from the holder before term.

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636 French, German, and Spanish administrations have attempted to set up a hierarchical system of authority that it has never been possible really to impose upon the country. The three administrations all made the initial mistake of trying to establish this authority on a territorial basis, which is completely—or nearly—foreign to these nomadic people. Only village chiefship had some resemblance to a customary institution, provided that the choice of chief fell upon a ntɔ̂l mɔ̂t, a genuine senior, and that his brothers accepted his authority. Canton and higher chiefdoms had no cohesion except insofar as the incumbent had authority or administrative support. At the beginning of the colonial period, however, these functions were very often entrusted to genuine bejɔ̂ɔ̂ bɔ̂t, /62/ well-known war chiefs, high initiates of societies like the ngil, or celebrated magicians. Later on, it became more difficult to find, even among opposition ranks, chiefs possessed of real authority. After 1945 there was an attempt in the Cameroons to reorganize the system of authority on a clan basis (the Bourdier-Granier reform), then on village lines (the Christol system), finally ending up with a municipal type of system.

631 636 [181] Given Pahouin interest in a political system based on election, which pretty well corresponds both with their individualism and with their mistrust of individuals, it may be that such a system has some chance of success if it is allowed to become Pahounized.

5. Associations

575 Traditional associations were undoubtedly less developed among the Pahouin than among other African societies with more closely knit or more stable hierarchical structures. The social groups at the core of clans or villages arose and decayed in accordance with migrations and "swarmings-off." They showed a kinship rather than an associational character.

Nevertheless, there existed within kinship as well as outside it associations not based on descent, voluntary and not *de facto* /discretionary?/. These were often characterized by initiations and had a magical or religious basis, with varying purposes.

The *minsamba*, "societies," were temporary, organized for a military operation (*òban*, *mvèle*) or for a trade journey to the coast or to the "trading-posts" of the Ogooué. The men who took part often came from different villages or even from different clans bound by an alliance (*élat*). They swore an oath of loyalty and mutual assistance, involving a ritual sacrifice followed by a communion [782] meal; for a war enterprise, there might be a human victim, especially if it were a matter of avenging the death, *kum mbim*, of a *monyañ* (brother) and if there were a prisoner of war available to sacrifice. The association was dissolved once its end had been accomplished, but a bond persisted between its members.

[224] [441] Similar temporary associations could be formed for large elephant hunts; they were moreover often confused with the *nsamba dulu* or *nsamba ayak* (traveling society, trade society) afterward organized for the sale of the ivory.

575 783 The most important permanent associations were those among the initiates of different rites. But what was most often involved in these was a kind of relationship by way of *a* rite, which was not the rite's real purpose, or was so only adventitiously. When, for instance, all the inhabitants of a village took part in the *ésye* purification rite, a strengthening of the fraternal ties among them certainly ensued, but the prime purpose was purification (1). /63/

575 628 783 1. Among the Beti (Eton) another rite is to be found that cuts across clan or tribal barriers: "*étup* is planted" to make peace, to end a family quarrel, to check an epidemic. The old men consult the spider oracle, /63/ then call the men together. The assembly is in charge of the *mbongengañ* (magic-makers—initiates of higher rank). The members of the two groups start to hurl mutual accusations. Then those who bring bad luck are pointed out, the *biwonwolo*. A shrub, *meyan*, is then planted, and a *biañ* /medicament/ is prepared in a pot, over which the audience swear an oath to give up behaving badly to one another. The *biañ* is then inserted into the nostrils of the *biwonwolo* in order to do away with the bad luck. (J. B.)

575 626 Nevertheless, certain rites had along with other aims that of setting up among the initiates an association that would produce a kind of dialectic of energies /sic/ (*tyé*, *kié*) between the group and its members. The principal society, which probably had a national character that cut across clan lines, was the *ngil* (1), about which unfortunately very little is known nowadays. The *ngil* seems to have been the main, if not the only, element of tribal cohesion on a political level. Its function was social control and defense, especially to preserve the society as a whole from the activity of sorcerers. By uniting initiates from all clans, it could settle interclan disputes by avoiding recourse to war or feud. It served to some extent as a police force and judicial system, with the initiates of lower rank carrying out the

1. The origin of this word is uncertain. It has been referred to *ngil* (*njil*) meaning gorilla; old administrative reports speak of "gorilla-men." There has also been suggested, less convincingly, a connection with *ngul*, meaning capacity, potency.

575 sentences passed by their superiors. In struggling against sorcerers,
626 it had also a medical role, which for a while outlived its police role: Bertaut (no. 110) seems to have known it only under this aspect, which did not arouse so much administrative suspicion. Allys considers it to be the "war fetish," thus agreeing, apparently, with Allégret and Largeau. Martrou and Leroux refer in this connection to "franc-juges," which recalls Bearth's description of the nsig nto of the Bané.

576 Very little is known about ngil rites as a whole or about their symbolism. The initiation has some traits in common with the sô: preliminary physical and moral purification, flagellation, confession, a broth for a test made of horrible substances, representation of ancestors, symbolic transition from an epicene or androgynous to a monosexual state (2), blood sacrifices. It is probable that these traits
[778] are to be found in all important Pahouin rites. The sacred spot was a rectangular stockade, ésam, open to one side, with clay figures of the ngil and his "wife," (3) in front of which there was dug a
[530]
trench covered with a lattice in which initiates were hidden so as to prick the candidates with their spears when brought before the ngil after having had to climb through an ant pit (as in the sô). There was also a liana representing a python, the precise role /i.e., significance/ of which I do not know. The neophytes had to bring ancestral bones, which were kneaded into the clay of the figurines. The ceremony included a test intended to show if the neophyte was nnem (bearer of évu), which would have entailed his being put to death immediately; /64/ a blessing of the ritual spears which, according to Trilles, bore totemic designs; finally a sexual symbolism termed "obscene" by the authors mentioned, who give no further description of it.

The initiates left their houses in procession, masked or painted with white and red (mourning and rejoicing colors, respectively),

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2. Or, on the contrary, according to Stoll, transition from a monosexual state to a bisexual completion.

3. Or a single androgynous statue.

575 preceded by drummers and trumpet players and by a boy (uncircumcised?)
entrusted with holding across the village street a liana, which
the cortege broke through only after sacrificing a chicken. The uninitiated
did not have the right to be present at this procession. The
769 ngil leader, masked and painted in red and white, carried his personal
bieti (bieri); he was always accompanied by a full orchestra
534 (mvet guitar, mbaé and nkul drums, mejañ balafo). The initiation
ceremony lasted a month (1).

304 1. The ngil mark was a tattoo below the sacrum, therefore covered by the loincloth. Initiates did not go out except in masks, so that theoretically it was impossible to recognize them.

Members of the ngil circulated in small groups, masked, to carry
754 out inquiries in villages where a case of sorcery was suspected or to
put sorcerers to death. For ordinary cases they applied the ordeals
in current use (minkal), but for serious cases it was necessary to
arrange for an initiation ceremony: this feature is found in nearly
all ritual associations, where initiation is always accompanied by
collective catharsis.

Among other masculine initiation societies the ndôngô rite must
304 be mentioned, whose initiates have two incisions on the nape of the
neck. Its symbolic /features/ include confession, purification,
seclusion in darkness, passage through a narrow corridor or a low
doorway, a liana-serpent, a consecrated lance, a sacrifice (2), a

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784 2. Dogs were sacrificed. Ndôngô canceled serious minsem /breaking a taboo/ like homicide or incest and allowed initiates to eat pork, mutton, and porcupine. (J. B.)

825 horrible brew. The ritual animal was the tortoise. The purpose of
this rite seems also to have been protection against sorcerers and,
perhaps, to improve luck, ma'a. The initiation of circumcised
youths, bekungu, is perhaps a juvenile form of ndôngô. Both survived
until the Second World War. Ndôngô does not seem to set up

575 as strong interclan ties as does ngil; however, the initiation leader may belong to a different clan from the initiates.

[783] Esye (étye or tyo?) is a purification and reconciliation rite, described by Father Guillemin for the Beti; it does not extend outside the ranks of an ayôm (segment).

575 825 Among the Boulou of Sangmélima, the Ntoumou of Ambam, and the Fang of Djoum, I found some medical society initiates who call themselves "snakes," using the proper word, benyo (sing. nyo), not the euphemism minkol afan (lit., bush lianas). Their specialty is treating bites and capturing and taming snakes. Initiates are known within the society under the name of one or another variety of snake, conferred at initiation. There are several degrees of initiation (three?): first-degree initiates /65/ are called bo' b'ayañ, children of the Dendraspis; advanced initiates are bo' be mvôm, children of the python. Their medical knowledge seems quite extensive; they [751] claim, in particular, to be immune to /snake/ bites, thanks to the application of a special biañ (medicament) through incisions at the time of initiation. The main center of this association would appear to be among the Mekaé of Messamena, and it is therefore not properly Pahouin.

575 626 754 All these ritual associations contributed to social order mainly through defense against malevolent sorcerers. The sorcerers, for their part, are often organized in secret societies in order to join forces against the organs of control and repression. Inevitably, therefore, these societies are ill understood. Nearly all of them must have included beyem (sing. nnem), that is, bearers of évu. In fact, if one may be subject to possession involuntarily and even unknown to oneself, one may also nyoñ évu, receive évu, always in the sense of a burden. A person entering a beyem association has to pay for his entrance by the sacrifice of a near relative and also accept the imposition of a special prohibition, the breaking of which (nsem) brings instant death.

575 754 The ze mimfaka (lit., road panthers), notorious under the name of leopard-men, were an association of man-eating sorcerers, a kind of counter-ngil (1). Nowadays what is involved may well be a pathologically degenerate form of the ngil itself. In the course of a

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1. There are also independent ze mimfaka.

575 754 judicial inquiry at Ambam in 1948 after a raid on ze mimfaka, an old chief who was a Protestant and an elder of his church declared, in so many words, that "the white man has weakened the ngil, and the beyem have taken it over; now it is the ngil of ngbwel /sorcery/."

789 The initiates of the kôn or kun, a kind of magic that enables one to assume another person's strength without destroying his body, also seem to be grouped into a secret society with meetings every seven years.

575 Beyem associations do not usually include both sexes; male and
786 female sorcerers meet together only occasionally, for orgiastic sabbaths.

The distinction between white and black magic is, nevertheless,
789 difficult to draw the present time, and one can never tell offhand if the small groups springing up nearly everywhere to protect their members against bad luck by using, in addition to remnants of traditional rites, recipes copied from magic manuals printed in France, belong to the one or the other.

To come back tothe traditional associations, we must underline
562 /the fact that/ in them there was a complete separation of the sexes, to such an extent that women were often forbidden to speak the name of a men's society or to show any kind of knowledge, even superficial, of its rites. The prohibition was less stringent for men with regard to women's rites, since the nsem, the breaking of a taboo, was for them punished by physical incapacity or illness rather than by death. /66/

A women's rite like mevungu had both a village aspect, on account of its geographical framework, the jurisdiction of its huts, and an interclan aspect as a result of exogamy. Much less is known of these women's rites than of the men's, for the very good reason that men are not allowed to know anything about them. Missionaries have condemned mevungu as obscene: I have heard that initiates who have gone through the menopause are supposed to play a male role in dances miming coition, without being able to obtain the slightest proof or the least detail (1). What is certain is that this is a rite of
842 224

fecundity, of fertility, and also of the hunt: an unlucky hunter may have his wife initiated so as to ward off bad luck.

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831 (1) A woman "chosen for her large vagina" presided, seated with legs spread apart. Each initiate would go tickle her and pull the clitoris. (J. B.)

576 have his wife initiated so as to ward off bad luck. This is not the only example of the indirect intervention of one sex in a rite of the opposite
831 sex. Allégret points out that it is a "woman who has had bad luck fishing" who "finds the ironwood for making the war fetish." It certainly seems that he has mixed up ngil with sô, but the example remains valuable. Therefore, though traditional rites and the associations of initiates of these rites were strictly masculine or feminine, this does not altogether exclude the intervention of the opposite sex. No more can be said in our present state of knowledge (2).

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> 2. The other important women's rite, ngômbô, was more especially limited to old women. The participants built a sort of basin out of four banana trunks and their leaves, in which a vegetable biañ /medicament/ was prepared that gave protection against theft. (J.B.)

Contemporary cults and associations, on the other hand, are open to both sexes, whether religious or politico-religious societies or mutual-aid associations.

The two principal politico-religious associations are the bwiti (or mbuti) and the ngôl, well described by Balandier (no. 175). They have spread to the north from Gabon and the Middle Congo and are not of Pahouin origin. They are beginning to penetrate Boulou country, where they have not been as successful as among the Fang of the south, undoubtedly because of the lesser degree of social destruction.
769 Bwiti was originally a "tyogo" ancestor cult, comparable to the Pahouin biéri, if one accepts Trilles. It must have first appeared among the Pahouin at the beginning of the century, probably among Pahouin families cut off from their clans and thus from the biéri and sô rites, whose significance is primarily ethnic and familial.
177 Libreville was an important point of contact, not only between African peoples of different stock, but also with European religious systems. Modern bwiti borrows a great deal from Christianity and also from freemasonry, which was fairly widespread in Gabon before the war, especially in half-caste circles and on the periphery of principal towns.
668 In assuming this syncretist character, bwiti appears at the same time as a nationalist—or Africanist—movement and as a progressive movement abandoning the old cults or rather modernizing them. It is the

575 668 object of official suspicion /67/ and rightly so, since it has free recourse to human sacrifice and to physical liquidation of apostates; it has assumed the traits of a secret, often surreptitious, society. The liberal character of the administration since the 1946 reforms has aided the spread of *bwiti* by giving emphasis to the frankly political side of its activities: the municipal elections of 1956 were in large measure a *bwiti* triumph.

575 [177] *Bwiti*, like the old rites, first of all works to protect its members against the *beyem* (bearers of *évu*), and its whole purely African side recalls those ancient rites. As in *ngil*, members have to bring in to the society the bones of their ancestors; as in prohibited /*criminels*/ societies, they often have to agree to the putting-to-death or mutilation of a close relative; as in the *melan*, they drink a brew based on narcotic herbs that enables them to "see the *bwiti*." There is a sacred musical instrument, the *ngomi* harp, sculptured figures or reliefs, especially on hut poles, recalling the *biéri* cult, a special language, prohibitions, etc. But the weekly ceremonies are influenced by the Mass; the progressive degrees of initiation probably derive from freemasonry, as does the lodge organization; finally, the Bible is used and interpreted in a manner, often political, that can only come from Protestant influence.

575 668 Balandier has shown how *bwiti* is trying to effect a reorganization of Pahouin society in Gabon, by providing it with an ideological basis, a total collective *weltanschauung* permitting an integration of customary forms of behavior with those resulting from the colonial situation. It would be interesting to carry his investigation into the Cameroons and into Spanish territory in order to study the reaction of very similar societies in quite different politico-administrative and economic contexts.

177 575 668 *Ngôl* is much more recent than *bwiti* and represents, perhaps, an even more striking example of politico-religious syncretism. Its source is an African interpretation, a mythology based upon Free French propaganda in French Equatorial Africa from 1940 to 1944. *Nzela* *me* *Ngol*—General de Gaulle—has become a "white" hero, sent to liberate the black man by revealing the white man's (1)

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1. "Logically" one might have expected this role to be ascribed to Governor General Eboué.

177 secrets and powers (power-*ngul*, to be related to *ngôl*?). There is thus
575 a "cargo-cult" side, already observable in certain traditions and
668 pseudo traditions mentioned by Trilles and Largeau. The mixture of Christian and traditional elements in the ritual suggests *bwiti*, with definitely a greater ceremonial elaboration in terms of modern technology, such as representations of aircraft, submarines, etc. The liberating-hero cycle involves a putting to death (by his white brothers) and a return by parachute, plane, or submarine—there are different versions, sometimes co-existing. The society's hierarchy copies that of the /68/ administration: the master of the lodge, wearing a kepi with star, is the *nzela me ngôl*; he is accompanied by "presidents," "presidents in chief," "commanders," "inspectors general," "governors" and "governers general," "militiamen," doctors," etc. (1). There is a parallel female hierarchy, having, in particular, a "*douane*" /possibly "duenna"?—Tr./, who is supposed to have an eye on good relations between households. The political purpose is clear: the *ngôl* hierarchy has often replaced that recognized by the administration, sometimes with positive practical results, thus connecting up with the movement for Pahouin regrouping in its Gabonese form.

575 In the Cameroons this regrouping has in fact quite a different
797 aspect. It appears to be essentially a tentative social and political revival of clans rather than a tribal regrouping, which is not felt to
668 be as necessary as in Gabon. It leans especially, on the religious level, more toward disciplinary /sic/ schism than towards syncretism, at least for the time being. Some of its leaders have left or wish to leave the missions to set up national churches that would allow, for instance, polygamy, but they do not oppose Christian dogma, which they proclaim that they accept, constantly maintaining that it is rather the missionaries who have altered it, consciously or not. Here the influence of the American Presbyterian Mission is predominant. It might be said that the Cameroons clans, especially the Boulou ones, have been organized into a pattern of Presbyterian synods. The movement has been less successful among the Beti, where Catholic

1. One of the highest officers is the "adjutant of the guard," who is in charge of the police and of carrying out legal decisions.

575 797 668 influence is stronger, but there too one finds associations influenced by foreign types of ecclesiastical organization.

614 576 Since 1946 the Boulou clans have formed associations, sometimes proclaimed in conformity with the law of 1901, and since 1950 gathered into the N'Tem-Kribi Tribal Union, which covers primarily Boulou, Fong, Fang, Ntoumou, and Mvaé. Each clan has a central board elected during an annual or biennial *ésulan*, and local boards. Membership is not automatic: members have to apply for admission, pay subscription and entrance fees. At the core of each clan association there are "societies" of young people of both sexes, of married women, of nonvoters /*abstinents*/, etc. The young people's "societies" are certainly the most unusual. They were formed with official approbation at the time of the abolition of forced labor recruitment. The "societies" used to bargain with local authorities over projects like road maintenance or the construction of works of art /sic/, the money received being turned into a common account and used, either to help the members meet bride-price payments or other expenses, or—particularly—to arrange festivals and banquets.

575 454 In large towns Pahouin migrants join *de jure* and *de facto* associations, generally within a tribal, not a clan, framework. These associations have protective and mutual-aid purposes /69/ and are sometimes quite powerful. To these should be related the tontines or subscription societies consisting of small numbers of laborers, servants, or minor employees, who pay into a common fund the larger part of their monthly wage, each member in turn being able to draw upon the sizable sum thus collected each month. The last two institutions are in no way specifically Pahouin, nor characteristic of the Cameroons or Gabon.

6. Law and Property

a. Source

671 Pahouin law has always been complex. Formerly, it dealt primarily with the status and condition of persons /*statut et de l'état des personnes*/ upon which the property system was dependent. Under the influence of the economic changes brought about by colonization, the law with regard to property has become definitely independent of the law of persons, the latter being inclined to grow simpler with the dissociation of the old social and family organizations.

671 The sources of law are at present custom and the European legal system brought in from outside. Each obviously affects the other: custom is modified by the written code, while the application of the latter is bent by the influence of custom. Law is continually evolving. It is quite difficult to understand, even though often written. The decisions of courts, the minutes of reconciliation proceedings, the "covenants between natives" established by the 1920 decree, the minutes of discussion sessions (1), and even some private contracts are filed in the administrative archives, but they have only rarely been systematically collated.

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183 The general term for custom is *biyem* (from *yem* = to know), connoting at the same time habits and modes of life and the laws that regulate them and qualify them as good or bad. Forms of behavior are rather *mebo*, from *bo*, to do. Methods and general practices are *mam* (sing: *jam*) or *mejô* (*ajô* = speech, from *jô* = to say), the second also meaning "business" in a litigious sense. One often hears, almost always with a tone of regret: *Nnôm éyem, bimvam bi nga wô'ô bo mebo mete, melu mvus; nale a nga'ane kik*, "The old ways, as our ancestors used to do things, they don't exist any longer." The whole "Pahouin regrouping" movement is characterized by this antithesis between regret for the *biyem bimvam* and yearning for progress. The result has been the growth of pseudo traditions attempting to connect contemporary ways with customary norms.

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178 Since 1944 we have witnessed a trend in public opinion in favor of written codification of the law. Most clan groups /70/ have drafted their customary laws, which are revised periodically at the *bisulan* and which serve as legal basis for the decisions of the civil courts. It is probably too early for a final codification on a territorial scale, which would most likely involve an intertribal unification of the law (already stimulated by the colonial legal system), but periodic publication of local customary law by a committee of high-ranking men and assessors is often demanded and has already been sporadically carried out, as much by *ésulan* chairman as by certain government officials

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1. *Bulletin de la Société d'Études camerounaises*, 1947, No. 19-20, p. 141, (no. 126).

b. Legal Power

692 The contemporary /legal/ organization is, except for a few details, the same in the three territories inhabited by the Pahouin. In the Cameroons and Gabon, criminal law /*la justice repressive*/ is in the hands of magistrates administering the French penal code; civil law is administered by first- and second-degree courts presided over by an official of administrative rank, sitting with two African assessors. There are also the so-called customary courts composed entirely of Africans and not entitled to deal with questions of personal status /*état des personnes*/, and a mediation system preliminary to all court action, in the jurisdiction either of chiefs or of first-degree court assessors. The system in Spanish territory is similar, but the first jurisdiction of the penal law is entrusted to officers called *jefes de demarcación*.

Alongside this official framework may often be noted a semi-official mechanism, sometimes tolerated, sometimes prosecuted as illegal. This consists of courts or arbitrators of the *ngôl*, of the *bwiti* or of the *meyoñ*, and also disciplinary committees of the missions, official or semi-official.

671 The distinction between civil and criminal was undoubtedly less sharp in former times. It did, however, exist, and an organization like the *ngil* dealt primarily with criminal cases, the major crime from which all others arose being that of *ngbwel*, sorcery. A homicide /*meurtre*/ might be a civil matter, when the circumstances precluded the probability of an act of sorcery; a well-planned theft, on the other hand, or even outstanding commercial acumen, could involve a capital charge.

627 Outside the *ngil*, law was administered in the first instance by the *esa* or *ntol mot* of the extended family or the village. This was a matter of disciplinary rather than legal power, at least so long as the *ntôl*'s decisions concerned only his *bobenyañ*. When the case (*étom*) 628 went beyond a purely family framework, recourse was had to a judge, *ntyi'i mejô*, palaver-cutter, chosen within the clan from a kinship level nearer the ancestor. If several allied clans were involved, arbitrators or assessors were taken from among the *mintôl* not directly concerned in the suit. Finally, a diviner or magician, *mvimvi'i* or [791] *ngengen*, could be consulted, either visited in his own dwelling or into consultation.

[575] Suits between members of an association were, and often still are, conducted by an official of the association /71/.

c. Punishments

681 The scale of punishments included death, the paternal curse, putting in chains (*mbok*), fine, and bastinado. To these were added for women removal of the clitoris and the *labia minora*, injection of pimento into the vagina, and public exposure, naked, with legs held apart by the *mimbok* /pl./ (*ésamele minga*).

681 783 The death sentence was carried out so as not to shed blood— which would have made purification necessary—by drowning, strangling, burial alive (the last particularly in certain cases of *nsem*, like incest), or by burning. If the execution had to be bloody, it was carried out by a captive—a foreigner to the clan—but, in theory, the shedding of blood always had a sacrificial character and was to be avoided on all other occasions.

The death sentence was applied for sorcery and serious *minsem* (breakings of taboo) such as incest or the killing of a *monyañ*. For other infractions, compensation was the general rule, either by retaliation or by indemnity, the latter usually being the preferred method. For instance, for a homicide /*meurtre*/ committed outside the clan, the *mintôl* arbitrators tried to make the killer's family pay blood money, either in goods or by giving a woman in compensation. To this there might have been added some sort of disciplinary corporal punishment within the killer's clan or family. If compensation was not paid, the victim's clan had recourse to retaliation upon any member of the clan or family of the guilty man: responsibility was individual within the family, collective within the clan and tribe.

A fine must be distinguished from the compensation accorded to the victim: it went, in fact, to the *ntyi'i mejô*, perhaps to pay for his intervention. It survives today, though illegal, to the benefit of official and semi-official assessors: it is freely called *toya*, from Coast English tax, to distinguish it from compensation, *ngôtô* = ransom, redemption.

Placing in chains applied especially to persons considered socially dangerous (it is nowadays used in remote villages for some insane), bastinado to minor crimes committed within the clan. Clitoridectomy 695 was the punishment for adultery and minor incest. The injection of pimento was rather a *nkal*, test or ordeal, than a punishment; it was applied especially to widows after the husband's death to discover whether or not they had been responsible. The use of ordeals, *minkal*,

695 was in other respects common. They were administered either by the *ntyi'i mejo* —*esa*, *ntol*, *njoo bot*, or officer of the *ngil* or another association—or by a diviner, *mvimvi'i*, sometimes a specialist in this category of *bitom*, palavers. The true ordeal had several forms: by a curse uttered over the ancestral grave or the *bieti* basket; by bitter herbs, *alan*; by pimento or ants; by boiling water or fire. /72/ Initiations and particularly that for *ngil* all involved a collective ordeal intended to ward off *beyem* who might have tried to push their
[787] way in. In addition to the ordeal proper, the *mvimvi'i* could make use of various forms of divining in order to discover presumed culprits. Except for a serious crime, the culprit thus revealed was not forced to undergo an ordeal if he admitted his guilt. Physical ordeals are
[671] on the decline; they are considered crimes or delicts in the Penal Code. And ordeal by oath has lost a great deal of its force. Divining remains much in use and is sometimes highly effective (1).

1. An oath may be sworn on a *nzo'okak*—a little elephant shield containing various medicines, equipped with a strap and worn under the arm. The *nzo'okak* is not an insignia of authority. Upon the death of its holder it does not pass automatically to the man who becomes head of the family but goes to the one who has a flair for magic. To leap over a *nzo'okak* laid on the ground means swearing that one has told the truth.
[728] The *nzo'okak* is a guarantee of treaties: after a battle it is placed between the belligerents, who jump over it to vouch for their peaceful intentions. (J. B.)

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681 Among modern punishments, fines and imprisonment are well recognized by the Pahouin and have a definite intimidating power. On the other hand, the subtleties of setting up a public prosecutor /*la constitution de partie civil*/ are beyond many peasants, who thus lose the possibility of receiving damages that custom would have given them. Above all, the Napoleonic interpretation of crimes and delicts remains pretty well foreign to Pahouin norms, for example, in judging an insult as a mere transgression even when directed to an

177 681 ascending relative. These /factors/ explain the success and persistence of parallel judicial processes, which are illegal from the point of view of European law, although sometimes tolerated by the administration.

d. Delinquency

674 If the older people are to be believed, delinquency offenses used to be rare: secret societies with their ordeals and swift punishments prevented delicts by the fear they inspired. At present the jail books and the judicial statistics make it possible to gauge the dimensions of the phenomenon, but there is no proof that all delinquents are prosecuted. Some affairs never reach the ears of the law: for instance, fathers of families often deplore the immorality of their sons or their wives, whom they accuse of stealing from them, but since no complaint is lodged, these facts are not recorded.

It is usual in Africa to complain of the rise in juvenile delinquency. The figures at my disposal do show an increase:

	18 yrs.	18 - 20 yrs.	20 - 25 yrs.	25 - 30 yrs.	30 - 35 yrs.	Over 35 yrs.	Total
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
1936	3	3.5	19	32	18	25	100
1946	-	10	21	35	15	14	100
1956	7	7.2	25	22	15	24	100

/73/ But this increase is not as great as might have been feared. A study of the statistics allows another conclusion: delinquency is 369 an urban phenomenon. In fact, only people following city occupations are found in the jails. In a region of primarily agricultural activity, a relatively low number of rural delinquents is remarkable. Admittedly we must recognize that in towns law enforcement is easier, also that the more Westernized townsmen do not hesitate so much to make use of the courts. Nevertheless, the differences between the delin- 674 463 quency rates of different occupations deserve to be pointed out, although the figures below are, of course, only approximate. They were obtained by a study of the census returns for three towns in the southern Cameroons and by a comparison of the jail books for the same localities.

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	Office-holders	Trade Employees	Traders	Butchers	Tailors	Carpenters	Masons	Chauffeurs	Mechanics	Motor Boys	Domestic	Laborers	Chiefs	Planters
Percent of Delinquents	4.8	15	7.5	4	8	5	3	13	10	23	8.3	8	0.8	0.8

Employees in trade, chauffeurs, and apprentice chauffeurs are the social groups with the lowest standard of behavior. The nature of the delicts makes it possible to be precise: in the Beti country of the Cameroons, moral delicts /delit de moeurs/(desertion of the conjugal domicile) make up 47 percent of the cases; theft and swindling, 26 percent; intentional assault and battery come far behind with 16 percent.

These figures enable us to measure the decline of the present-day family. (J. B.)

e. Land Tenure

423 According to early documents land regulations formerly were very simple. There appears to have been no rights over land: "Land belongs to whoever takes it; it has no value. It is not sold, not given as a guarantee for debt, does not enter into inheritance." There is absent not only the notion of private ownership of land but also that of collective ownership: "There is never any conflict between villages over ownership of land. . . . We often see an outside village insert itself between two groups of dwellings belonging to the selfsame Boulou village." (1) In Fang country in Gabon the situation was similar: "In the Woleu-N'Tem region, tradition is unaware of the idea of ownership even by a village." (2)

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1. Report to the League of Nations, 1922.

423 2. Sautter, Bulletin d'Études centrafricaines, 1950 (no. 102).

[166] Migrations and conquests still belong to the recent past. Besides, /74/ the movement of peoples was effected without organization or authority: different clans, tribes, and peoples overlap, family by family, so that it is not possible to determine the territorial base of a collective group.

Among the Ewôndo and Eton the situation is slightly different: the clans, probably better organized, preserved a certain amount of cohesion and carried out their conquest without becoming scattered. Therefore we find that they have boundaries between villages and collective rights over land. "Once plots of land have been cleared, they are not abandoned for good. A village looks upon them as a [241] reserve." In fact population density very much limits shifting cultivation.

[178] In the past forty years customs have changed a great deal and, among these peoples where land tenure was embryonic or nonexistent, ideas are arising that approximate Western rights of ownership.

[161] Population is now pretty nearly stable. It would be quite logical for rights over crops within a fixed boundary to arise, and in this direction some development is making itself felt. In certain areas 423 anyone may still cut wood, lianas, gather wild fruits, or hunt, to 241 satisfy his personal needs, but if he makes a profit from the sale of these things, he must obtain the consent of the family /occupying/ the area in which he carries on this activity. Elsewhere, the use of certain produce even for private requirements is subject to permission or to sharing the harvest. Thus the customary principle of the free use of natural goods is being restricted, at least in certain particular cases. With increase in population comes the idea of a virtual right over uncultivated forest lands. Families consider that they alone have the right to clear the land on which they depend. Men with experience state clearly that "formerly everyone cleared forest land without asking anyone's permission. Now that the country is becoming populous, permission must be asked." In less populated cantons clearing in the great forest goes on without restriction.

In conformity with ancestral customs, the harvest belongs to the cultivators: a right over personal property rather than a right over land. Nevertheless, a tendency toward a right of land ownership is

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making itself felt. Indeed, before any sowing, trees have to be cut down and the land cleared. This work has a relatively permanent effect: to clear undergrowth of ten to fifteen years is less difficult than to clear a bit of primary forest. Furthermore, the original clearer of the land is acknowledged to have rights over the fallow. Within a family, each head of a household can put back into cultivation fields which he used to work, and in such a case each wife has the right to go back to her old plot. When collective ownership is involved, the process has not been so clear. This is understandable, for when a village leaves its old site and no one remains in the neighborhood, it means that no return is expected. Therefore, abandoned sites may in general be occupied without difficulty and without explicit agreement.

But in the case of cacao plantations it is obvious that the right arising /75/ from cultivation is transformed into right over land. Right to the harvest has turned into right over the tree that bears it and over the ground in which the tree grows: the duration of a plantation justifies this transition by settling men for two or three generations.

This transition, however, has not been entirely accomplished, and some people want to insure their right over the land by planting trees upon it; and peculiar devices may be observed, such as a competitor's setting out cacao trees between those of an emigrant planter, in order to oust him.

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Development /evolution/ in the direction of ownership has not yet ended. There is now a right of use, but a right of disposal has not been established. Many believe that land cannot be sold. Not, it seems, on religious /sic/ grounds, but because the collective group would /in such a case/ be definitely defrauded. In this connection the attitude toward outsiders /l'attitude des etrangers/ is indicative. In this region of inextricably mingled clans and tribes, the problem of outsiders arises constantly. Those that belong to sister tribes are looked upon almost as members of the group, but others, coming from more distant populations, follow special regulations. They must ask for land from the head of the family near which they settle: he authorizes them to clear a field for a subsistence crop, but forbids them to plant cacao trees. In fact, if making a field of maize gives right of possession to the land for a few months, the establishment of a cacao plantation would lead to long-lasting possession. There is no question of a custom connected with the owning of trees, since the older inhabitants insist that formerly

423 any stranger could plant *melen* palms (*Elaeis guineensis*) and *sa*
601 (*Pachylobus edulis*), but of a defense reflex to preserve control of a valuable crop and to ward off the wave of immigration it could attract.

An examination of forms of pawning fields leads to a similar con-
423 clusion: there is far from a complete right to dispose of property.
426 The harvest rather than the land is pledged. Among the Ewôndo, in fact, the creditor may harvest and dispose of the produce. "Should the harvest surpass the debt, he will turn over to the debtor part of the produce. Since the owner runs the risk of having his land go to waste, the creditor may keep it in good heart and thus increase his credit. He may be induced to keep the property for several years: in fact, he keeps it long enough to be repaid out of the harvest. However, there is no assumption that he can keep it perpetually. Here we run into what is probably an important difference between the local land tenure and our own: everything takes place as if the land were inalienable (1)." The trend is similar among the Boulou, though it must be admitted that the question of pawning land does not raise serious economic problems at present. (J. B.) /76/

f. Personal Property

422 This is undoubtedly the only form of property originally recognized. Much of it seems to have been collective, at least as concerns valuable possessions: the *ésa* was in charge of these possessions, the family patrimony which served mainly to pay the *minsuba*, "bride prices." There was, however, individual ownership of useful objects, men's weapons, women's gardening tools and household equipment, objects that were buried with the owner. It seems, also, that there
[83] was a sexual differentiation between the various categories of possessions: *biôm beyôm* were masculine, *biôm beyal* were feminine, a distinction to be traced not to ownership, but to use and perhaps to origin. I have already mentioned that in the *bilaba* the *njem bilaba* of the west contributed imported goods, while his eastern counterpart

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1. J. Binet, *Budgets familiaux dans la zone cacaoyère du Cameroun* /Family Budgets in the Cacao-growing Region of the Cameroons/, *L'Homme d'Outre-mer*, No. 3, 1956 (no. 93).

422 brought produce of the locality, the system of directions very probably being ascribed to sexual categories, the northeast area, male and the southwest area, female. It would be advisable to know more about the ritual use of different tools and implements in order to throw more light on the subject. We know that the saber, *fa*, is essentially male, that the hunting bell tied to a dog's neck, *angôñ*, is essentially female, that the drum-telephone, *nkul*, is androgynous (though women are not allowed to use it); the rifle, *ngal*, is probably epicene, and the same is true for a few other objects, but we know almost nothing about the effect of this sexual differentiation upon property and its conveyance.

In any case, since the introduction of a money economy, personal property /*propriété mobilière*/ has become almost entirely individual. Personal property /*meubles*/ that remains collective is primarily so by appropriation, like the equipment of associations, the profits of their subscriptions, sometimes objects bought in common by members of a family because of their cost or function—like the sewing machines obtained from Spanish Guinea after the last war, for instance.

422 513 Personal property still involves some restrictions for women and young men, although they are less and less accepted. Respectful sons and submissive wives still allow their fathers and husbands to use the objects acquired by the earnings of their labor, but when they rebel the trend of the courts is increasingly in their favor. However, the obligatory aid arising from family ties still holds good, and to refuse to "lend" something to a *monyañ* is likely to be frowned on, which is a serious matter. Thus there survives a kind of right of collective family use working against individual /ownership of/ personal property.

g. Inheritance, Guardianship

422 578 These come about from death or disappearance. A paternal curse did not entail loss of civil rights, but the possessions left behind by an accursed son who quit his village were confiscated and divided among his brothers.

428 [715] The disposal of possessions left by a dead man, called *élik* from *lik* = to leave, took place at the end of the period of mourning, *meyep*, perhaps /??/ a mbu, six months after death. This waiting period tends to become shorter and in towns usually lasts a month,

428 a long enough interval in which to inform and call together the eventual heirs; in villages it remains longer.

The *élik* includes on the debit side the family debts incurred by the *de cujus*, but not his purely personal debts, which die with him; the distinction is sometimes hard to make and gives rise to suits between the heirs and creditors of the dead man. The debit side also [787] includes the funeral costs, especially compensation to the diviner called in to determine the cause of death (but the expenses of the final illness are considered to be a personal debt). Assets cover all real and personal property that belonged to the deceased, including his wives. The settlement, *akap* = distribution, is directed by the *nkap élik*, distributor of the inheritance, usually a *ntôl môt*, a kinsman or affinal relative not benefiting from the inheritance and appointed either by the *de cujus* or by the heirs themselves. Inheritances are more important now than they used to be, not only because there are more, and a greater variety of, objects to be distributed but also [768] because the custom is dying out of destroying or burying part of them during the funeral rites.

There are six degrees of possible heirs: male offspring and their male descendants; full brothers; half brothers on the father's side; paternal first cousins, *bobenyañ*; clan nephews, hence brother's sons, *bobendôm*; uterine brothers, nephews, and grandsons of the clan, hence bastards, *bobengon*, and legitimate nephews and grandsons outside the clan, *bobekal*. Inheritance does not devolve by ascending order except in the complete absence of descending heirs.

The eldest of the heirs of the first degree called to the inheritance, *ntôl mon*, is privileged; he is the replacement, *njian*, for the dead man. To him go the hut, the family jewelry, ancestral cult objects, especially the *bieti* basket, the rifle, and certain valuable possessions like bicycles, sewing machines, etc. The other possessions are divided among the other heirs of the same degree. The *njian*'s right of seniority is beginning to be criticized; it is gradually ceasing to apply to plantations, and now the heirs are demanding a division into portions of equal value along lines similar to those of the Civil Code.

The possessions left by a woman went in the first instance to her daughters, in their absence to her co-wives, and in their absence to her husband. With the present instability of marriage, related to the economic emancipation of women, this order of inheritance is

428 very much questioned: one often sees a woman's family trying to get hold of the inheritance on the grounds of incomplete payment of the bride price.

Oral wills are increasingly being replaced by written wills. The testator may himself kap élik, distribute the inheritance, and favor certain heirs. He cannot entirely disinherit the ntôl mon except by cursing him, unless the latter has left the village in an apparently final manner, in which case a younger brother becomes njian. /78/

Disappearance is a question of fact. When a man has stayed away for a long time without sending news, and no one knows where he is, his elders and his brothers may decide to share his possessions. This division is canceled should he return.

429 Guardianship of a minor, meba'ale or akalé (from ba'ale or kalé = to take care of, watch over) is given to a nya môtô of a higher age grade, preferably a paternal uncle, ésa (lit., father) or paternal grandparent, émvam; in their absence it is given to an elder brother; in the absence of all these, to a senior member of the family or clan. The maternal uncle, ndomenyan, acts as a kind of deputy guardian with the duty of supervising the guardianship. A ward who is maltreated by his guardian will seek refuge with his maternal uncle.

The guardian, mba'ak mon or nkalé mon, has by virtue of his age and of their kinship tie full power over an orphan, mone nyui or mo'nyui. He cannot, however, have control of his possessions, which must be restored in full, either in kind or in /equivalent/ value, when the orphan reaches majority. In theory a guardian ought to arrange his ward's marriage at his own expense, a tradition that is dying out with the decrease in family property. When the ward grows up he may demand an accounting of the guardianship, provided that there is no insult to the guardian. A family council composed of elders, mintôl, deals with such a case.

The mba'ale mon responsible for the guardianship of a girl is the person who approves her marriage and accepts the nsuba, of which he must reserve the total for the marriage of the girl's brothers if they also are minors. Guardianship of a girl is always given to her eldest brother if he is grown at the time of the father's death; if not, she is handed over to him when he reaches majority by the mba'ale mon, if she has not been married during the brother's minority. Furthermore, even in the latter case, it falls to him to repay the nsuba should the girl be divorced after he has passed out of guardianship.

h. Contracts and Various Quasi Contracts

675 A legal obligation is *atiñ*, from *tiñ* = to tie. For a long time no distinction was made between a contract and a quasi /or implied/ contract, but, as the range of independent activity spreads, we may recognize among *metiñ* the genuine contract, *mfañ atiñ*, from *fañ* = to do really, on purpose, by design.

Underlying all *metiñ* is the idea of compensation, *avutan* or *abutan*, which might be interpreted as follows: any effect /*atteint*/, positive or negative, on the total legal personality of an individual through the act of another must lead to a positive or negative compensation restoring the *status quo ante*. In other words, whoever enriches another person, has a claim to compensation; whoever deprives another, owes compensation.

Thus arises the distinction between *nsenge* and *avu* or *avuan* which have sometimes been confused by being translated as "gain" or "profit." It /79/ seems that *nsenge* in fact referred specifically to commercial profit made outside the clan through trade, *abom*, to which compensation did not apply. *Avu* or *avuan* (from *vu* = to grow rich, to increase in wealth, with *an* = to grow, to increase) meant the natural increase in property, such as a harvest in relationship to the sowing /or/ the biological increase of a herd. If the *avuan* was made at the expense of a *monyañ*, compensation was called for. Nowadays the idea of *avuan* approximates that of interest, legitimate or illegitimate according to the case. The weakening of the old social structures at the same time tends to allow *nsenge* even within the clan.

437 675 The verb *kuan*, to sell, is merely the reciprocal form of the verb *kus*, to buy; thus *kuan* means literally, "one person's buying from another," with a now very attenuated implication of exchange. The verbs *fol* and *folan*, formerly almost synonymous with *kus* and *kuan*, have kept the sense of "exchange"; they are applied to barter, *kuan* and *kus*, to money transactions.

At the present time selling is considered to be established with delivery of the merchandise or the payment, while exchange seems to call for a simultaneous delivery of the objects exchanged.

426 675 To lend something for temporary and brief use is *señ*; it is not strictly speaking a contract, and the borrower may even not be under obligation, for example when he has been loaned a tool to carry out

426 675 a job for profit and under the supervision of the lender. To lend on long terms with actual deprivation of possession of the object loaned is, on the other hand, a frequent atiñ. The same verbs mean both "to lend" and "to borrow": yôé is used for the loan-borrowing of a specific object, kôlé for something within a class of objects or of a sum of money. The thing loaned is ndôñ or ékôla, according as the case may be, or, more frequently, mvôla, which means any kind of debt or credit (mbi mvôla = creditor; mvômvôla = debtor). The borrower is required to return in good order the ndôñ and what it produces or the ékola, increased by avutan if he has profited from the loan. The borrower is responsible not only for the care but also for [672] the use that he makes of the borrowed object, the lender, however, retaining a sort of joint and several responsibility vis-à-vis third parties whom the borrower may injure by means of the borrowed object (indemnity can be claimed by the victim of an accident from the owner who has loaned his bicycle to the author of the accident), and even vis-à-vis is the borrower, if he comes to harm through the borrowed object.

From loan is derived hiring, indicated by the same word as the 437 676 loan of a specific object, yôé. /This is/ a recently introduced form of contract, and its legal position is still vague. Like loan, hiring may lead to the giving of a pledge, éban. The éban often involved people until European legislation prohibited the pledging of persons, though it is still practised clandestinely. Today it mainly involves objects that can be returned, either to the lender or to a third person; ownership of the security may /80/ be transferred to the lender when repayment falls due, without extinguishing the debt. The pawning of ungathered harvests or even of plantations is more and more common; with plantations, however, the pledge covers rights over the produce rather than over the land itself. When a girl is pawned, the repayment of the debt, aju, is sometimes considered a sort of nsuba; as long as the debt lasts, in any case, the children of the pawned girl belong to her clan and not to that of the guaranteed creditor.

231 675 The contract for the loan-grazing of livestock, meyale kabat (yale = to raise, make grow) may seem rather peculiar at first glance. The owner of an animal turns it over to the ñyale, who must look after it and, at the expiration of the contract, return not only the animal but any young. The lender gets rid of the care of a flock—he is often sending it away, moreover, to escape an animal plague—

231 yet takes the risk of a breach of faith on the ñyale's part. The latter
675 is supposed to return the flock intact, but as long as he tends it, he
may do what he wants with it, putting it to use like a kind of credit.
It is as well to point out that this kind of contract, which at present
is falling into disuse, gave occasion to endless litigation.

The trade contract under its old name abom or the newer atiñ kilak
426 or atiñ akus kaka is, on the other hand, becoming more and more
675 widespread. A trader, nkuan biôm or mbi fatyélé, advances to a kilak
441 (from "clerk") cash and goods on the kilak's undertaking to provide the
equivalent in a certain tonnage of cacao. The contract is set forth
in a written "good for...," which represents recognition of the debt.
The kilak exerts himself to collect the promised tonnage, usually by
buying from planters of his clan, sometimes by subcontract with
"small clerks," bone bekilak. The contract has a due date, with the
usual contingencies; in the case of rising prices, the kilak may run
into difficulties and not be able to furnish the promised tonnage unless
planters of his family give him credit or sell to him below the
price. Cacao buying is also done by commission, the agent, nlôman,
(envoy), receiving a cash advance with which to buy as much cacao
as possible. Both methods give rise to litigation, which is all the
more common because the moneylender is usually a European or an
African of another tribe, a "Gabonese" in French Equatorial Africa,
a Bamiléké, mone galifis (from Coast English "Grassfield") in the
Cameroons.

556 In general a commission is always possible, whether in making a
675 contract or in pleading in court. The person giving the commission
431 is called mve ngul, giver of power; the agent is called mbili ngul,
possessing power. They are jointly and severally responsible.

The bilaba contract, described about (41, 77), is disappearing.
There survives, however, a sort of poor man's bilaba, the meyeñ,
from nneñ, guest, which allows a zesé môt, a humble man, to levy
a kind of tax on the rich, minkukum, of his clan by the simple procedure
of going to visit them, carrying a present /81/ which must be
returned by generous hospitality and by a countergift of higher value.
This is a quasi contract, sanctioned by public opinion, which is a
heavy burden on people thought to be rich; it underlies the family
parasitism prevalent in large towns. The reputed nkukum who tries
to escape would be accused of being hard hearted, nlem ayet, which
could easily lead to a charge of sorcery.

7. The Position of Women(1)

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1. J. Binet, "Condition des femmes /The Position of Women/, " Cahiers internationaux de sociologie, 20, 1956, Presses Universitaires de France, and "Statut des femmes dans le Sud-Cameroun /Status of Women in the Southern Cameroons/, " to appear in Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin, 1956, Edit. of the Librarie Encyclopédique, Brussels.

If the older people are to be believed, the position of women according to orthodox custom was that of minors. However, there is nothing in traditional theory that justifies such a negative attitude towards women: some clans name women among their eponymous heroes, and there are legends attributing to the creator god (Zambë) a daughter in whose honor certain rites were performed. At the present time the tribal societies making an effort to revive the old clans and to revise their codes of manners and their customary laws always keep a place for women at the core of the executive /état-major/, but very often the role of women is secondary: they are dancers, singers, organizers of dances, or stewards watching over followers—in short they only carry out men's orders. Women are also sometimes associated with men in religious /confessional/ so-
575 cieties (Protestant or, more frequently, Catholic), but mostly they form separate groups, formerly so-called secret societies, today Christian devotional confraternities, which enable women to meet together, to set up a hierarchy and have leaders of their own. Women do not actually participate in the life of the community /cité/ or, better, they form a community among themselves, distinct from that of men.

In law women seem to be at a disadvantage, but it is not clear that they owe this to genuine antifeminism. In fact, no one is perfectly free in customary law; only the patriarchal head of a family
885 possesses full legal capacity. Marriage does not confer majority on a woman, and a girl possesses greater independence than does a
848 married woman. In the sexual sphere this is clear: illegitimate births involve no disgrace; a child is always welcome. If born before marriage, it belongs to the mother's family. And it is not unusual for respectable fathers to wait until a daughter has borne children before marrying her off.

562 children before marrying her off. In the economic sphere a young unmarried woman may freely undertake all sorts of commercial enterprises, whereas a married woman would need her husband's consent. Nor do divorce or widowhood, /82/ any more than marriage, emancipate a woman in theory. Escaping from her husband's guardianship, she falls back under the authority of the head of her family, but from the point of view of custom this is not a detrimental situation, since every person remains subject to his father.

Therefore the liberty women possess in managing their inheritance
454 ought not to appear an anomaly. Besides, individual savings are widespread in Africa. And the division of property into masculine
422 and feminine allows women and girls to own objects which neither husbands nor fathers may take from them. A partition of goods is the logical consequence of these assumptions.

Women theoretically have the right to dispose of the product of their labor—their harvest—but they must provide the basic foodstuffs. Only the surplus is sold, but in the majority of families when large sales take place the proceeds are divided between husband and wife. Women usually control the proceeds of day-to-day sales in a market or to passing travelers: petty amounts comprising only 10 percent of the total family budget. They may invest these profits by joining
454 a tontine (a society in which each person makes a contribution on a fixed date and of which the capital is allotted to each member in turn).

Thus the traditional means for growing rich are limited. But changing customs are allowing women to follow various occupations that will make them independent. Women engaged in trade or dressmaking, for which they pay a license, business trade employees or saleswomen, theoretically have to be authorized by their husbands, who may decide how the earnings are to be spent. In actual fact women seem to be free agents. Even in the customary courts they appear alone, unaccompanied by fathers or husbands.

423 In the sphere of land tenure the trend is the same: women are
562 acquiring a certain amount of property. With stabilization /i.e. settling down/, the growth of collective rights over cleared land or land good for tillage is quite understandable. The idea of allowing a personal right to a woman who is not truly a member of a family, but merely loaned to it, seems an aberration. This, nevertheless, is the situation among the Ewondo, where a divorced woman

423 continues to have rights over her old garden plots and may gather the
522 harvest from them. Among the Bané and the Boulou the position of divorced women is not the same, but the tendency is so, for when fallow land is cleared, every woman goes back to the plots she used to work four or five years before, and sons may demand plots that have been cultivated by their mothers.

Cacao plantations raise other problems. A man concerned for his children's future may turn over a plantation to a wife or encourage her to make one for their son. In other cases childless women start
[593] plantations as a means of providing for old age. Women with children do not have to fear, for their children will look after them. Finally, there is an even more important /83/ change appearing: a matrimonial system of community of property is developing. When a woman has collaborated with her husband to set up a plantation, she has the right upon his death to keep the usufruct. Even if her son inherits the plantation and sells the produce, it is she who collects the proceeds. This is an important development, because it is evidence of a kind of equality between spouses who are keen and efficient in harvesting the produce of the same piece of land. It furthermore shows that the
[592] household is a legal reality vis-à-vis the two individuals, on the one hand, the patriarchal family, on the other. (J. B.)

Chapter 6

Principal Elements of Culture

1. Physical and Mental Characteristics

a. Anthropological Data

141 The first travelers describe the Fang as very tall, well built, and with a formidable appearance. This opinion certainly contained a good deal of subjective evaluation, because the figures given, for instance by I. Dugast, some of which are cited below, indicate simply an above-average height:

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Tribe	Height		Cephalic Index		Trunk Index /Indice cormique/	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Mangisa	above average		76.7	76.3	?	?
Eton	167.8	157.9	76.2	76.4	60.8	51.0
Ewôndo	168.4	158.6	77.0	77.6	50.5	50.4
Boulou	165.4	157.6	77.8	79.2	51.2	52.2
Fang	above average		77.0	76.6	51.2	50.9

[143]

Tribe	Blood Group (in %)					Facial Index		Width/Height /Envergure s/taille/	
	O	A	B	AB	Index	Male	Female	Male	Female
Mangisa	52	21.9	10.9	15.2	1.44	?	?	?	?
Eton	55.7	13.8	17.5	12.9	0.878	85.1	84.2	104.4	102.5
Ewôndo	55.5	14.1	17.4	11.5	0.885	85.7	85.6	105.3	104.0
Boulou	?	?	?	?	?	86.5	85.1	103.7	102.9
Fang	?	?	?	?	?	83.2	87.0	105.3	103.4

It is inevitable, in any case, that a population of this numerical
size should present fairly obvious extreme variations, but my own
observation, also subjective, thrown into relief a larger proportion
of short and very short persons than of tall and very tall: interbreeding
[144] with Pygmies (the Bekoé ayoñ especially) would explain this to a great
extent. The Beti in the north, who have had much less contact with
Pygmies, seem taller and slenderer.

142 The group as a whole may be considered mesocephalic with a /85/
[illegible] slight tendency to dolichocephaly (1), with not very obvious Negroid
facial traits, rather light chocolate brown skin, although some groups
have a reddish tinge to the skin and green eyes (the Ndôñ ayoñ of
[143 Sangmélima). Pectoral hair is common. There is fairly common
821] albinism, some polydactylism (the subjects are supposedly sorcerers).

[304 856] 1. Midwives, bebialé binga, still continue the practice of shaping newborn skulls by lengthening. On the other hand, the custom of binding babies' heads with a bark band is dying out.

142 The group displays powerful shoulder girth, rather well-developed calf, pronounced arch, ungual phalanges that cannot be pulled back.

The explorers of the last century were one and all struck by the
difference in physical appearance between the Pahouin and their neighbors, much less evident today, particularly to a European (the Pahouin
themselves often recognize a stranger from quite a distance). It is
possible that at the time of conquest the Pahouin may have had a
[262] heavier meat diet than did the coastal populations or do their present-day descendants: the hippopotamus has been exterminated, and the
rest of the wild fauna has been greatly reduced, while even animal
breeding and rearing is on the decline.

b. Clothing, Ornaments, Body Marks

291 The traditional clothing as described by explorers hardly exists any
more. One sometimes meets in remote villages the beaten fig-bark
breechcloth, ôbôm, and the monkeyskin hat-wig, afô'ôlô, which was
the men's everyday dress, with a wide belt of antelope skin, ases,
holding a sort of sporran as well as a saber sheath. Battle dress and
292 full dress have become very rare; they included, in addition to a
red-dyed ôbôm, a tailpiece /séant/ of tiger-cat skin or of drill or any
animal with bright fur, fringed leggings of the same fur, and a sort of
cloak made of leopard or gorilla skin with the head sometimes forming
a hood; there was a headdress of beads hanging down to the shoulders
or arranged in the hair, with a tuft of touraco or juggler-eagle /aigle-
411 bateleur/ feathers. Weapons consisted of the saber, fa, the dagger,
otyen—both double bladed, the spear, akoñ, or rifle, ngal (the cross-
bow, mfan, was more a hunting weapon, and the bow, ngale, a toy).
Defensive armor included an oblong shield, ngu or éndeñ, of plaited
lianas or of leather, sometimes made of an elephant ear. Even today
men do not like to leave home without a weapon, at least in the
301 villages; formerly, they were always armed. Men's jewelry comprised
copper bracelets and teeth necklaces—of either animal's or men's
[751] teeth—chains of copper, iron, ivory, or elephant hair. Protective
293 "medicaments" mebiañ, were usually carried in an antelope horn
(Cephalophus sylvicultrix), nla' zip, hung around the neck or wrist
on a strip of leather or snakeskin—a practice that still survives. The
292 ceremonial costumes for the different rites /86/ included masks,
mantles of dried grass, beads, or cowries.

301 Women wore only a sort of double apron of grass or leaves, azem
[291] or abui, fastened to a belt of cylindrical steatite beads, nsanga; bracelets, mekom, of ivory or copper shaped like spools; ankle chains,
bibat, of cast copper, very heavy; and an enormous necklace of cast
copper, nkembé, which was put on a little girl when she entered her
[764] affinal household and which could not be removed until after death,
by cutting apart the body or melting the necklace or awaiting decomposition. All this jewelry belonged to, and remained in, the husband's
[422] family, even in case of divorce; the ésa was the person who distributed
it among his wives and daughters-in-law. Flat bracelets were made of
306 "neptunes" or "benares" /?/ imported from the coast; later on they
made, and still make, rings and bracelets from cartridge cases and
telegraph wire. But the origin of the cast minkembé /plural/ is still
a mystery; the technique of metal casting is unknown or forgotten;
placer or lode copper is very rare, not only in the present Pahouin
[325] habitat but also where they seem to have come from. Furthermore,
these very old necklaces resist corrosion and have a very pale patina
indicating some kind of alloy; moreover, the nearest workers in bronze
the Bamum, do not make this kind of necklace.

291 Men's dress at the present time is usually of the European type,
[177] from shorts and sports shirt to the surplus American cap; those who
wear shoes have European footwear, leather or canvas according to
their income, or in the style of the Arabic—silifa, from English
"slipper" = babouche, of Hausa or Peul manufacture. Mention should
be made of the helmets and kepis of umbrella-tree wood and the fake
spectacles of slivers of ráffia "bamboo." In the villages or at home,
imported loincloths are rolled around a belt or tied behind the neck.

Women also wear a loincloth, éndelé, tied at the neck or rolled
tight above the breasts when they have nothing else on, rolled at the
waist when wearing the "mission jacket," éwoman (apparently from
"woman"). The favorite head covering is still the kerchief, éyañese
(from "handkerchief"). More and more women are also wearing cut
and sewn European-style dresses, bizingi; often a kind of slip; no
[841] panties except for a few young modernists (who call them caleçons,
"drawers"); and internal sanitary napkins made of medicinal plants.
[797] Mission activity has spread notions of prudery; formerly only those
past puberty were obliged to cover their sexual parts. Women did so
834 with great care in spite of the casual nature of their clothing; the
greatest insult to a woman was to uncover her vulva in public; she never

834 uncovered it except when uttering a curse. Nowadays most women
292 cover their breasts (1) with almost equal vigilance. /87/ In old-fashioned villages widows still go back to the traditional dress after their seclusion: for eight days, sometimes longer, they wear the *ébui* made of leaves, which is then replaced by an old *ôbôm* or a jute sack that leaves the head and shoulders and thighs bare, then by a sack or an old khaki dress shaped like a sack with holes for head and arms.

291 Boys and girls used to run around naked until the first signs of puberty appeared, usually the pubic hair (Boulou, *afañ* /"h." in the text must be a misprint for "b."—Tr./; Fang, *avul*). Boys wore a special breechcloth of a special vegetable /material/ after circum-
[304] cision while waiting for the wound to heal and afterwards had to wear a covering only if they had already started to grow hair. At present they wear clothes from the beginning of school age and even before that in militant Christian families and the urban bourgeoisie.

304 Body marks have fallen out of use with the exception of circumcision. First the men stopped filing their incisors to a point. Tattooing persisted longer, in Gabon until just before the Second World War. At present tattooing is being revived among urban pickpockets and syncretist associations. The face was tattooed, usually between the eyes but sometimes on the cheeks, with blue markings made of soot mixed with vegetable ash, or in red with padouk /?/ powder, *baa*. These marks could indicate clan or association affiliation, or even were imposed during or after a course of medico-magical treatment, or even to satisfy aesthetic demands. It was the same for cicatrices engraved in relief on chest or abdomen, which are nowadays described as being "to make *nyanga*" (!pretty, " Coast English—of Hausa origin?). It is quite possible that some of the magic significance has been forgotten. The most important marks were the dorsal scarifications made at initiations: a triple row of incisions along the vertebral column, widening into a v at the nape

[177] 1. The aesthetic standard in this connection is changing, especially in towns, as a result of European (cinema?) influence; one only rarely sees girls binding their breasts with strips of bark or cloth to make them fall.

304 of the neck for the sô; a (secret) design on the sacrum for the ngil; three horizontal marks on the nape for the ndôngô; a line of "vaccination marks" on the inner surface of the arms, forearms, and thighs, and along the carotid arteries, for the serpent /associations/, etc.

302 Men wore their hair braided, or else they shaved the temples and parietal bones, leaving a sort of comb on the top of the skull, suggesting a gorilla's crest. There were special ways of dressing the hair appropriate for the different initiations. The moustache was worn only by the benya bôtô; the beard, a goatee, by a few aged men, often diviners. In our day men usually wear their hair short and merely combed; a central part, in the Lower Nigerian fashion, was very common around 1948 among factory hands, while former recruits went in for a crew cut with a frill beard /barbe en collier/. Many students wear a little goatee, and this style is now growing among the rest of the younger generation. Since up to now wearing a beard was a sign of mourning, a political implication has sometimes been [765] attributed to this fashion—but mourning beards are not trimmed. /88/

Women have many ways of doing their hair, in plaits, checker [765] board, "horns," etc. As a sign of mourning their heads are shaved, and they are not allowed to comb the hair that grows out before the end of mourning. The growth of beard or moustache that often [145 follows menopause is considered a sign of sorcery. Stylish women 754] pluck their armpits, and a few also remove their pubic hair, for reasons perhaps of elegance and hygiene, perhaps of ritual (is there a relationship between the name of the important female rite mevungu and mevul, meaning "female pubic hair?"). Padouk powder, baa, is still used in the way that henna is for both magical and aesthetic reasons, but European make-up, mainly lipstick, has taken its place among young fashionable women.

515 Bodily cleanliness is much in favor: men and women often bathe several times a day with plenty of soap. But it is common to see them put back on their well-scrubbed bodies perfectly filthy clothes, no doubt because bodily cleanliness is a much older practice than that of wearing clothes made of cloth.

c. Psychological Characteristics

181 Like the majority of known peoples, the Pahouin have a very flattering opinion of themselves, and the curious thing is that this

181 opinion is quite widely shared by foreign observers. "Much more intelligent and... more active and harder working than the average Negro... they also have more forethought... they compare with other Negroes as do Aryans with Semites and the red men /Rouges/ ... capable of acquiring a certain amount of intellectual cultivation and of performing all sorts of industries," wrote Largeau in 1900. Before him, Du Chaillu /had written/: "Proud and fierce warriors... clever and industrious... that will supersede... the degenerate tribes (of the Ogooué)," while Horn, who did not like the French at all, thought the "Mpangwe" of 1875 to be the "Prussians of Africa," which, considering his attitude and the period, was a compliment. Later, Trilles favorably compares their moral standards with those of Europeans; his Protestant colleague Grebert speaks of their "individualism," their "fierce love of liberty." The portrait admits, it is true, of some reservations: "brusqueness," "brutal frankness," along with "unreliability," "malice," and "greed for gain" for Largeau, "pride," "tendency to hoard," "stubbornness," for Grebert, "cruelty," "avarice" for Du Chaillu, "superstition" for Horn, while Compiègne thinks they "disappointed Admiral de Langle's hopes (for their ability to become assimilated)." It is a remarkable fact that these "defects" may just as well appear aspects of their "good qualities," just like the strictures on "anarchy" and "rebelliousness" that often turn up in the official reports.

All these evaluations still hold good, clearly subjective and /89/ nonscientific as they are, just as are those I have been able to make myself and which lead me to say that I have actually met among the Pahouin I associated with a large proportion of intelligent, energetic, high-spirited /fiers/ people, endowed with a sarcastic humor well illustrated in many recent novels and also in the giving of nicknames, especially to government officials, and in the celebrated caricatures of Monewoso among the Boulou.

114-153 The only scholarly work on this subject that I know is some research done in the Cameroons by Stoerkel, head of the Service de Psychotechnie et d'Orientation professional /Psychotechnical and Vocational Guidance Service/, which does not seem to have been published. This research was done in 1949-50 at the beginning of the construction of the Edéa dam. The studies revealed, among the Pahouin of the southern Cameroons, motor adaptability, concentration, and capacity for integration superior on the whole to those of other

114 ethnic groups in the same region, the Boulou subjects being classed
153 first on these points among the Pahouin tribes. Intelligence tests and
mental-age evaluations made among school children and *lycée* students
gave similar results in comparison with Africans of the same age. On
the other hand, a comparison with European children living in the
Cameroons showed a certain inferiority, from which it is still im-
possible to draw definitive conclusions because of the scarcity of
"*culture-free tests*" used at the time. Projective tests administered
114 under the same conditions revealed schizoid tendencies with rather
157 marked aggression and a fairly high frequency of the Oedipus fixation
with some transference /*assimilation*/ from father to white man.
The difference in level from neighboring tribes was less clear among
the *lycée* students than among school children, and less clear among
the latter than among the laborers at Edéa. It must be emphasized
[125] that these tests, especially the projective ones, involved a limited
number of persons in particular situations outside the village milieu,
that remains the background of the majority of their fellow tribesmen.
I am not acquainted with the results of later research.

156 With regard to social psychology, we are also largely restricted
to subjective evaluations in the same class as those mentioned at the
beginning of this section. Allégret a half century ago remarked
upon a defeatism more bitter since the Fang had come in contact
with Europeans, and certain legends reported by Trilles and Largeau
on the Jacob and Esau theme, with the white man in the role of the
usurping younger brother, go some way to confirming this. Balandier
has given a good description of contemporary expressions of this feel-
ing of collective frustration, both in his *Sociologie actuelle* and in
various articles, one of them with the significant title, "Les Fang,
conquérants en disponibilité" /The Fang, Unattached Conquerors/,
(nos. 175 and 173).

One striking trait, also emphasized by Balandier, is that of collective mistrust of successful persons. This may appear to contradict the previous statement about Pahouin individualism, but in fact it is precisely /90/ this individualism that produces a good share of the suspicion of the *other* individual (cf. in Ezo Boto, *Ville cruelle*, no. 182, the reactions of the hero Banda vis-à-vis the rebel Koumé).

556 We must also point out the psychological and social importance
156 of *akum*, wealth, and of *biôm*, possessions, especially imported
possessions. Combined with the as yet little-studied concept of the

556 relations between the sexes, this emphasis to a great extent explains
156 why no true peasantry has developed, but rather a class of nonpeasant
planters, comparable in the last analysis to some of the European
settlers. The Pahouin remain very much strangers and travelers on
the land, whence the importance of personal property (in the legal
sense) in their eyes. Nevertheless, a further development is in the
making in this connection—described above (p. 96) which is leading
to a strengthening of land ownership, /so that/ certain collective re-
actions in the way of procedure concerning land and domain suggest
that we are witnessing, at least in the Cameroons, a genuine putting
down of roots.

614 Tribal pride is still considerable, to the point of hostility between different branches of the group, but ethnic cohesion is found vis-à-vis outsiders and gives real unity to the Pahouin as a solid group.

2. The Individual Life Cycle

a. Conception, Gestation, Birth

843 A woman is considered pregnant, *a nyoñeya abum*, she has got a
belly, when she has passed through four menstrual cycles, *a nji yene*
ngon, without seeing the moon. Conception is supposed to be the
[842] result of the mixture of sperm, *meyôm* (with the same root as *nnôm*,
pl. *beyôm* = male) and of menstrual blood, *metyi me ngon*, girl's
blood or lunar blood; the length of pregnancy is calculated from the
date when the last menstruation should have begun. Nowadays a
pregnancy of nine months is considered normal, but some of my
informants mentioned normal terms of eight or ten *ngon* (lit., moon
or girl), a word that can as well refer to a calendar month as to a
lunar month or a menstrual cycle. It is difficult for a man to obtain
more precise information on this point since the subject is restricted
to women. Besides, longer pregnancies are considered possible,
[154] though sometimes suspect; amenorrhea due to a fibroid growth is a
proof of sorcery, the tumor being considered an *évu*. The fetus (for
which the term is secret, forbidden, *étyi*, in any case for men, and
probably for women uninitiated into *mevungu*) is thought at the be-
ginning of gestation to take the form of a lizard, like the first man
at the moment of the creation /of the universe/.

848 As soon as pregnancy is recognized, the parents have to observe all sorts of bityi, prohibitions, the first of these being to stop having sexual intercourse, which would bring on a miscarriage or produce a monster. They must not go near a corpse nor attend funerals. The woman must abstain from certain foods /91/, the eating of which would harm the child: fish, which would cause skin diseases; bat and duck, which would mean webbed fingers and toes; snake, which would mean a child born without limbs or with atrophied limbs, etc. The woman must avoid taking long strides and stepping over holes or ditches and must stop wearing drawers if she has done so before. The husband must not nail or tie anything, which would make for a difficult delivery; he must also abstain from certain foods. During pregnancy the woman anoints the belly and breasts with palm oil mixed with baa, wears a special belt of ôkumu liana (a kind of solanaceous plant), and avoids leaving the house barefooted.

"Accidental" miscarriages are generally attributed to the breaking
of a taboo (nsem) and entail ritual purification; so long as these have
not been carried out, the woman is not allowed to speak to any man
except her husband, at least directly, nor to look a man in the face.
"Criminal" miscarriages are attributed to sorcery or, more precisely,
783 to an évu, which may belong to the woman herself; they entail more
rigorous purification; the lochia are submitted to a kind of magical
"disinfecting" before being buried secretly beneath a road so that
847 passers-by will walk over them without knowing. Voluntary abortion,
very rare in former times, is becoming fairly common, particularly
among unmarried mothers in Christian families; it is brought about
by vegetable emmenagogues (one is extracted from papaya root) or
by introducing into the neck /of the womb/ a roll of twisted bark
(I could not find out from what tree). Sometimes women induce
abortion in one of their co-wives out of jealousy.

844 The first delivery and often succeeding ones usually take place in the woman's native village (jañ). A husband is not allowed to take wife and child back home until after payment of what is really the final installment of the bride price, particularly a substantial present for the mother-in-law, which is repeated at each birth, whence the proverb, "A mother-in-law's basket is never full." The parturient is delivered in a sitting position, with her mother or ntyi (mother-in-law or co-wife of higher rank) holding her from behind, and assisted by a midwife, mbialé binga, formerly an official in

844 one of the women's associations. The child is delivered on a mattress of banana leaves. The umbilical cord is cut with a special knife, perhaps the same used in circumcisions (1), and it is buried under a banana tree, whose fruit will be *étyi* to people of the opposite sex from the child. The placenta is buried by the mother herself in a secret spot, or in her place by a woman of her own blood; afterward the mother may tell her child, as a mild way of cursing, "I know where your placenta is." The baby is immediately wrapped in a loincloth and laid beside its mother, after being shown to the father if it is a boy. The following day the baby as well as the mother is rubbed with warm oil, and it is given the breast. /92/

845 Difficult deliveries are quite common, and the midwives' technique extremely uneven. Although some may know how to effect artificial delivery, even version, most of them are limited to massaging and to using magic, like placing an axe between the mother's legs. If the woman dies in childbirth, sorcery is suspected or a grave *nsem* like incest; in the old days the baby, even if born alive, would have been buried with its mother. A stillborn child also arouses great suspicion about the mother, who may have to go through an ordeal and be forced to confess an offense presumed to have caused the death of the fetus.

Some writers have claimed that baby girls were sacrificed at birth
847 as being of no value to the clan. This seems very unlikely unless the infanticide was the result of an accusation of sorcery, which could also apply to a boy. What is true is that a woman giving birth only to girls would be considered the victim of a spell or a breaking of taboo.

The birth of twins is propitious, for they are thought to be necessarily *mie* or *mmimie*, that is, free of *évu* (the same word *mie* means "confinement" or, more precisely, the "labor" of childbirth). Twins receive traditional names that vary according to clan.

846 The first coming out of the house /*relevailles*, "churching"/, *ékulu mon*, "baby's coming out," takes place three months after birth, if everything has gone well. The woman starts bathing in the

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1. This is not certain; since the circumciser is a man, we may question whether he would use a woman's knife.

846 river again (until now she has washed in her hut), puts on new clothes
presented by her husband, and starts cooking for him again and work-
[763] ing in her garden. Special purification has been carried out if the
[833] baby has died in the interval. The prohibition against sexual relations
[853] lasts as long as the child is at the breast; to break this taboo would
make it nyu meyôm, drink sperm, which might lead to its death.

Postpartum care is given by the mbialé binga, then by the woman's mother or aunt or ntyi. This consists of vaginal douches and external and internal napkins of vegetable compresses.

853 The baby may be suckled only by its mother or a woman of the
mother's blood, a grandmother or maternal aunt. If this is impossible,
[278] the baby cannot live (at least in rural districts where concentrated
milk is unknown). Traditional pharmacopoeia possesses, however,
extraordinary vegetable lactic stimulants, probably without equivalent
in the European pharmacopoeia.

b. Childhood

553 The old custom was not to name (yôlé) the baby until it was taken
out of the house; until then it was usually called by the name of a
small animal, like "squirrel" or "palm rat." Nowadays the name is
[641] given within a few days of birth, if for no other reason than to comply
with citizenship regulations. /93/

551 A name, jôé or jui (also meaning nose, order, command, authority) includes the éyôlé, the individual's own name, and the atinan, complementary name chosen from the biyôlé of ancestors according to clan or family traditions, which are on the decline. Formerly, a cognomen was added to these, a mebatan (1) or jôé mebatan (lit. salutation name), sometimes conferred at initiation. This mebatan

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1. Trilles translates this word as "genealogy": lañ mebatan means both "to recite the genealogy" and "to recite the salutation," simply because this was in fact the formal way of introducing oneself; a newcomer's genealogy determined how his hosts would "greet" him. True genealogy, pedigree, is éndan, related to ndan, tattoo mark, emblem.

551 may serve as *atinan* to the next generation and after that becomes the *éyôlé*: thus, a chief with the cognomen Atyaminlam, destroyer of villages, will have a son called Mbutu Atyaminlam and grandson Atyaminlam Mbutu.

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177 Influenced by French customs there has been, since the establishment of regulations for native citizenship, a stabilizing of patronymics, especially in official circles. A new patronymic may have begun as the father's *atinan* or *éyôlé* or *mebatan* systematically given to all his children as an *éyôlé*. Furthermore, conversion to Christianity has led to adding a Christian name to the *jôé*, which may serve in place of an *éyôlé* or be joined with a native *éyôlé*. Thus, for example, Ze Mvondo, with the cognomen Mebianga (man of drugs, because of a sickly childhood), is baptized Solomon in a Christian mission and becomes by contraction Solomon Mebianga. He may give his *mebatan* as an *atinan* to all his children and we should then have Menge Mebianga, Oyônô Mebianga, etc., with a Christian name besides, or he may give them his *mebatan* as *éyôlé*, without *atinan*, with only a Christian name. There are other solutions besides, often the result of a vogue, from the names of men famous internationally or locally, dead or living (De Gaulle, Pascalet, Victor Hugo) to the orthographic Gallicizing of the *jôé* chosen as patronymic (Aubame, Minguet, etc.).

551 I have referred to the old rules controlling the choice of elements of a name. The *éyôlé* could be connected with some event at birth or during gestation; could have been suggested by a dream or a diviner; be deprecatory so as to break an evil spell; could result from a prohibition imposed on the father or mother, etc. It could also reflect the genealogical rank of the bearer, though this function was restricted more to the *atinan* chosen from the *biyolé* of the male and female forebears of both lineages. Nowadays the trend is to give as *atinan* always the father's *éyôlé*, sometimes the mother's, especially in the case of illegitimate children. According to Trilles, a name also had a totemic significance, also connecting it with genealogy. All this has by now pretty well passed into oblivion.

From the linguistic point of view, the majority of proper names are common nouns, occasionally heightened: *mvôm* (python), *Mvômô*; /94/ *afan* (forest), *Afana*; *zok* (elephant), *Zo'o*, etc.; or else phrases: *Ebéndeŋ* (*e* *bee* *éndeŋ*), "shield-bearer;" *Atyaminlam* (*a* *tyam* *minlam*), "destroyer of villages," etc. They are usually

551 epicene but tend to be attributed more to a particular sex—thus, it
is rather rare to find a girl called Ze or a boy Nyangono.

854 In any case a baby, ntyen or nkeñelé, is not considered a human
being until it receives a name. After the first going out from the
[859 551] house /the churching/ and until weaning, that is, for eighteen months
or two years, the mother carries it everywhere with her, in a fold of
her loincloth or in a sling for the purpose, doé or awoé, then, when
it can stand by itself, astride her hip. The nkeñelé is given almost
no training; the mother gives it the breast whenever the baby cries
and does not attempt toilet training; a father occasionally plays with
sons, rarely with daughters. Older sisters help the mother to take
care of the baby, for instance, watching it in the shade while she is
working in the fields or carrying the baby for her when she is over-
burdened.

862 Weaning often occurs in stages; the child begins to take solid food
while still at the breast, sometimes before it is a year old. But it
[859] does not stop being considered a baby, nkenele, and become a child,
mongó, until it walks and begins to talk pretty well. From that time
854 on, it must learn to respect its personal prohibitions and clan taboos;
often an older brother or sister will be charged to supervise him.
Separation of the sexes increases with age; at about the fourth year
children are no longer allowed to see adults of the opposite sex naked;
[857] around the fifth year, boys and girls, bo'befam and bo'binga, stop
playing together.

857 Games are to a great extent mixed with the learning of future tasks:
little girls play at housekeeping and sometimes with dolls; little boys
861 hunt rats with the bow, throw small assagais at moving targets, set
snares, etc. But there are also "free" games like jacks, cat's cradle,
blindman's buff, common to both sexes, ndongo tops made of snail
shells for boys, émvala or /a kind of/ dance for girls. Children also
have their own dances distinct from those of adults and peculiar to
each sex. They start working as soon as they know the taboos, girls
helping their mothers, boys beginning to learn masculine crafts by
preparing materials; stripping leaves from folioles of raffia "bamboo,"
barking and pounding lianas to be made into ropes, scraping skins,
etc.

The children of a village play in bands, but practical training and
the teaching of traditions is carried on at home, under father or
861 mother, according to the /child's/ sex. However, preparation for

861 initiations and now catechism bring all the boys and girls of a village together.

854 Adult surveillance is casual: grown people mainly want /95/ children to know their place and not to be a nuisance. Otherwise, it is mostly the older children who take care of the younger ones.

c. Adolescence

882 854 Boys and girls share their mother's hut until the beginning of adolescence, at which age the boys go to live by themselves, formerly in the "guardhouse," aba, nowadays in a hut on the paternal "allotment." Formerly, girls were sometimes married off before birth and [582] went to the husband's village at about eight years of age; this is very unusual today, but it is still fairly common for them to go at that age to a paternal or maternal aunt or to a married sister, where they act more or less as servants until puberty, being trained meanwhile. It is also quite common for boys to go to live with a relative whose [871] house is nearer a school than is their own village (1).

[574] 1. But a motive of proximity to school is not a complete explanation, merely an additional reason for leaving. In fact, a study of urban centers equipped with schools of a good level shows that 30 percent of the children live outside the paternal household with uncles or grandparents. Whatever a father's personal view, he could never refuse his son to relatives expressing a wish to have the boy for some time. (J.B.)

881 304 864 The bongô /children/ become ndôman, a youth, or ngon, a girl, at the onset of puberty. The transition is marked by circumcision among boys, atyi'i atyel, in the past sometimes followed by the first initiation, bekungu. Circumcision is done between the ages of six and twelve, usually around ten. Nowadays it is often done at a dispensary, while it formerly was the occasion of a family and village ceremony. Subjects for circumcision prepared for the ceremony with a relatively short seclusion (of a fortnight) during which they were

881 304 864 limited to a vegetarian diet without salt or spices, to "freshen the blood." They received sexual instruction from the *ngengañ*, diviner-healer, who performed the operation, while the elders, *mintôl*, examined /the boys/ in knowledge of the *mebatan*, "salutations" or genealogies: in actual fact circumcision ended the prohibition against coition by showing the danger of involuntary incest in case relation- 304 ships were not well understood. Women were not allowed to be present at the operation, which the *ngengañ* performed with a special razor, cauterizing the wound with a pimento decoction. A boy was held by his father, who pronounced the formula that lifted the taboo against coition. The foreskin was usually buried under a tree, perhaps a banana, perhaps a tree indicated by clan or lineage tradition, perhaps [121] chosen, if we accept Trilles, for totemic reasons. Sometimes the foreskin was preserved for magic use. While the scar was healing, the circumcised boy could wear only a special vegetable breechcloth which was renewed daily; during this time no woman was supposed to speak to him or to touch him or his breechcloth; this he took advantage of so as to steal food and various things. /96/ Once the scar had healed, he could no longer appear in public naked. This whole /procedure/ is only partly followed at the present time; furthermore, since the time for the operation has been generally made earlier, circumcised boys who have not yet reached puberty (1) are often seen going about nude in villages. According to Trilles and Largeau, in the past some youths remained uncircumcised, *minsǝsǝl*, until they had killed their first enemy. At the present time all youths are circumcised, even Christians; the missions have only rarely tried to oppose the practice and always unsuccessfully.

881 883 After circumcision the *ndǝman* was able to have sexual relations and ear certain foods prohibited before. He went to live with other

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(1) A Protestant Ntoumou chief in Ambam told me that he had had his children circumcised earlier so as to be able to send them to the district school without running the risk of their breaking the sexual and food taboos of the uncircumcised when away from his supervision.

881 youths in the aba and prepared for further initiations, while beginning
883 to participate fully in masculine activities, work and games. The bekungu (Fang, bekhun?) initiation that came directly after circumcision was not a general practice. My own impression is that this was not a tribal or clan rite like sô, but that of an association of diviners or seers involving only specially endowed individuals, perhaps related to the ndôngô rite restricted to grown men, which appears to have identical ritual tattoo marks.

881 For the mo'minga reaching puberty there is no stage equivalent to circumcision. In spite of what Trilles says, excision has apparently never been used except as a punishment for certain kinds of adultery or mild incest. It must not be forgotten that a little girl very soon went to live with her affinal family and that she was deflowered as soon as she reached puberty. She very rarely remained élenan, that is, pubescent and unmarried, and then for a very short time. One might almost say that her adolescence was telescoped into the period between childhood and the arrival of puberty marked by the mevungu rite.

This adolescent phase is now prolonged by the law fixing the
582 marriageable age at fourteen (puberty usually comes during the
145 twelfth year), by school attendance, and by the change in the bride-price system. Most of my friends of a certain age see in these facts the reasons for a crisis in immorality which they probably to some extent exaggerate.

Nevertheless, first menstruation was apparently acknowledged in a ceremony in which only women took part, but this may have been merely a preliminary to the mevungu initiation, about which hardly anything is known. Otherwise /as regards female adolescence/ coition is forbidden to immature girls, while unmarried girls who have begun menstruating have actually great sexual freedom, even in Christian circles. *It must, however, be realized that only too often, especially* in schools, there are girls deflowered before puberty, whereas boys seem to wait for circumcision /97/ before their first exploits — there
833 are parents, worried about their sons' "good behavior," who give
864 them aphrodisiacs as encouragement.

d. Transition to Adulthood

884 The ndoman is not yet a real person, nya môrô; undoubtedly he participates in men's work, in hunting and clearing the land, but he

882 is not yet admitted to the essential functions of full manhood: ritual, warfare, and marriage. Formerly, he was not until after the great
881 tribal initiation, sô. Sô is the name of a large red antelope, Cephalophus castoneus, found in great quantity in the forest and in
[125 262] the galleries of the park-savanna. The meat is taboo, étyi, to the uninitiated (bibis) and, a fortiori, to women. It may seem strange that Trilles does not mention it in Le totemisme chez les Fang, although the sô seems to be one of the most important tribal totems.
[171] It should be observed in this connection that the sô rite, widespread among the Cameroons Pahouin, including the Beti, and among those of the Woleu-N'Tem, seems to vanish somewhere between Mitzic and N'Djolé, while some of its features are to be found in the initiation to the biéri, which is basically merely an adjunct. It would therefore appear to have gone to pieces at the same time as the structure of the meyoñ, to be revived in the extreme south by the bwiti, reported by Trilles, which is at present moving northward. Nevertheless, I must point out that what Trilles describes under the name of bawu may well be sô.

[114] Initiation ceremonies were filmed among the Eton of Saa in 1935; the film is kept at the Musée de l'Homme. Bertaut (no. 110) gives a very full description of the outward forms of the initiation, Stoll (no. 84) an interpretation of its symbolism.

Initiation took place about every three years (every seven mimbu?); Bertaut states that a ceremony might be arranged after some serious happening in a village. It lasted three months (one year, according to Stoll, who counts in the preliminary ceremonies for the initiation proper and the period following) and entailed great expense for sacrifices on the part of the parents of initiates and especially the initiation leader, the nkpwé sô (judge of the sô; lit., butcher of the sô), a senior chosen from the most wealthy and respected. From this point
[illegible] of view, one may *believe that the rite coincided with the desire for* levelling of wealth which appears to have been so constant in Pahouin society. The nkpwé sô did not himself lead the ceremony; he was the instigator and the person responsible, but the celebrant was a diviner, a mfek sô, "sô wise man" or "sô measurer" or "sô pouch," if the tone is changed (vek = to take aim, to compute, to divine, to measure).

The main theme of the rite, of which the following description is quite incomplete, was the death of the sô, awu sô, afterwards eaten

881 by the initiates (its meat was taboo to all others). The ceremony opened with a general village purification and went on to four successive sacrifices till the death of the sô and the communion meal upon its flesh. The candidates, mvôn, passed through a series of tests /98/ and instruction of a warlike and sexual character, at the end of which they became true persons, benya bôtô, as well as true members of the society.

After circumcision youths received preliminary instruction within their families, but this represented preparation for the rite, not the rite itself. Preliminary ceremonies began three months before the initiation took place, with a public confession before the whole village by the nkpwé sô standing back-to-back with another official "who aped his movements, moving lips when he spoke and like him trampling an old calabash" (Stoll); pieces of the calabash were used to receive the blood of the first sacrifice, with which the nkpwé sô and all the minkpwangôs (initiates) of the village were sprinkled, and were then thrown away in the bush to the cry of "Gone, gone /effacé/," (andim, related to the form mendim = water). Initiates then came together outside the village to choose the bevôn who were to ku sô (lit., to fell /tomber/ sô) in this promotion. These beku were then subjected to a first seclusion of twenty days in the forest, during which they built the aba so, a sanctuary containing a platform reached by three ladders, to which access was forbidden to all uninitiated except the bevôn. The mfek sô began to teach them their duties as initiates and proceeded to eliminate those who were "faint-hearted." At the end of this seclusion the bevôn returned to the village in procession and received from their relatives /parents/ presents in groups of nine, the sô ritual number.

The second stage of the initiation then began, étyi'a bilé bi sô, felling the trees of the sô. The nkpwé sô provided materials for a ritual meal, which included a soup in which the mfek sô cooked certain mebiañ intended to reveal any beyem (bearers of évu) among the bevôn. Nothing was supposed to be left over from this meal. The bevôn then lay down in a ditch where they were sprinkled with a special /vegetable/ decoction; then the village women between puberty and menopause strode over them nine times. The minkpwangôs met together for a secret sacrifice and a meal prepared in the same pot as that used for the bevôn meal, called nlak sô (sô horn; according to Stoll, with the esoteric meaning of testicle).

98| The nkpwé sô then defecated into the pot, which was buried in a secret spot near the sanctuary. The bevôn then took part in a mock battle at the end of which the nkpwé sô gave goats to their families. The initiated now went into the forest to cut a njôm pole, chosen, according to Allégret, by a woman whose husband had no luck at hunting—this pole was placed across two forks planted in front of the sanctuary near the nkal sô. Meanwhile, the bevôn had been cutting raffia "bamboo" to be used in making the ésam sô, an enclosure around the njôm. They returned in Indian file with their group "major" (ôsu zua) at the head; they set up the "bamboos" in a triangle open toward the back of the njôm, fastening them together with plaited raffia leaves the end of which an initiate buried in the nlak sô. During their marching by, which women and unitiated are not allowed to see, they were beaten with sticks by the initiates.

They then proceeded to a "crabbing" which consisted of immersion in water flavored with pimento. /This was/ the commencement of the third stage, which was continued by withdrawal into the forest, where the bevôn painted themselves white and engaged in a ritual hunt.

Meanwhile, initiates closed the ésam sô with two lianas representing a python (mvôm) and a Dendraspis (ayañ). The bevôn then were subjected to the ant-tree test in which they had to climb an angakomo tree on which weaver-ants lived whose bite is very painful. They then spent a night in the ésam sô, lying on thorns and rubbed with pimento juice, while masked initiates beat them and blew trumpets [274] to keep them from going to sleep. The next day they went off on a round of visits through villages related or allied to their own, while the mfek sô and initiates carved and shaped the njôm in keeping with clan traditions. The designs had to be explained to the bevôn during the next stage, abete njôm, the erection, the setting up of the njôm.

Upon their return from the round of visits, the bevôn were tattooed [304] by the mfek sô: three rows of incisions along the spine, the two outer ones spreading apart at the top like the sô's "halter," and a small triangular mark at the nape, perhaps the same as that of the ndôngô. They then put on a sort of skirt of raffia fiber, painted themselves white once more, and did a public dance during which the "major" mounted astride the njôm, the other bevôn after him. Anyone who fell off was rejected by the sô and had to leave the

881| community. After another sacrifice, the *bevɔ̂n* were again confined inside the *ésam sɔ̂*, where initiates had dug a narrow passage and covered it with wattling and earth, the bottom strewn with thorns, crushed pimento, and warrior ants. The *bevɔ̂n* would receive final instructions, then, after taking mud baths, grunting like hogs, they had to crawl through the passage previously filled with smoke, while the *minkpwangɔ̂s* struck and pricked them with assagais through the cover; a *mvɔ̂n* who rose up or tried to escape was immediately killed by prisoners stationed outside the enclosure. This was the third stage, the true "death of the *sɔ̂*," *awu sɔ̂*.

After leaving the esam, the *bevɔ̂n* were supposed to be aggressive, teasing, to worry the other villagers, steal food, fowls, etc., tear down barriers, and in general behave like wild beasts. This period lasted for several days, preceding the sortie of the *sɔ̂*, *akui sɔ̂*, a parade of the group in war dress, carrying spears engraved with the distinctive clan mark, *ndem*, which had been consecrated during the initiation. A feast followed. For six months (*mbu*) afterward, the new initiates were still subject to certain sexual and food prohibitions, from which they were freed if they killed a man during the period. At the end /100/ of this waiting time, they went away, painted white, into seclusion for a night and came back painted red, making the rounds of the village nine times in procession. Then they bathed in a stream where fishing was afterward forbidden until the initiation of the next group, apparently.

A young man thus initiated became a *mone wɔ̂sɔ̂*, child of the death of the *sɔ̂* (*wu* = to die; *wɔ̂é* = to kill), thereafter ready for marriage, which would make him a complete man, *nya mɔ̂tɔ̂*. His [768] father might instruct him in the family cult, which till then he knew only in its externals; he was taught to identify the ancestral skulls kept in the *biéti* basket and to enter into communication with them [776] by means of the narcotic herb *alan*. Sometimes the instruction was given collectively in the *melan* rite, which, according to Stoll, complemented *sɔ̂*, the latter being androgynous, while the former was gynandrous. *Sɔ̂* was to give creative power, *melan* fecundity and wealth. *Melan* has a medical aspect lacking in *sɔ̂*; the participation of women is greater. Some elements seem to have survived until the present day, whereas the last *sɔ̂* ceremonies must have occurred about [114] 1940. Stoll gives a pretty full description in *La tonétique des langues bantu . . . du Cameroun* /The Tonal System of the Bantu Languages . . . of the Cameroons/ (no. 84).

881 The female rite corresponding to *sô* is *mevungu*, about which little is known, for the reasons mentioned earlier. It was not a clan rite, since the women of a village would, in consequence of exogamy, belong to different clans. Like *sô*, its function was to make of the initiates accomplished women, *benya bengono* or *benya* binga, fertile, free of *évu*, and disciplined, and perhaps, in addition, to set up a community bond between the women of a village in place of the missing clan bond among them.

Initiates of both sexes were exempt from numerous general food taboos. They were bound together by an obligation of mutual aid reinforcing and even transcending that of clan fraternity. The dying [178] out of initiations has definitely left a void which contemporary Pahouin are trying to fill; the new syncretist rites seem to have succeeded better in this than the churches and political parties.

e. Old Age

887 The *nya mɔtô* and the *nya minga* are people in full possession of their faculties, quite capable of fulfilling their social roles. Their prestige is in proportion to their abilities; when they are no longer "true" men or "true" women, society is inclined to lose interest in them and to push them aside. An old man can mitigate his loss of physical power by his wealth or his skill in magic; an old woman owns nothing and easily incurs the risk of an accusation of sorcery. Her decline begins earlier than a man's, when she ceases to bear children or to be physically attractive, while a man reaches his prime when /101/ he has grandsons living with him and accepting his authority. But this authority lasts only so long as a man can "stand up for himself" /*se défendre*/ in the semi-colloquial sense of the word. Nowadays the ease with which villages and extended families burst their bounds geographically often accelerates this decline, which some *minkukum* palliate thanks to the polygamy on a large scale that enables them to retain economic power.

Old people without children have a very hard time of it, even in regions converted to Christianity, especially widows, who in their affinal family do not benefit from the clan obligation of mutual aid. In times past old people were abandoned in the forest during migrations; they are still left in *bilik*, deserted villages, when the main body of the village moves, for instance, to establish itself along a

888 road. The missions have tried, with unequal results, to ameliorate 797 the fate of old people without children; certain clan "societies" have also been active in this direction, but none of it goes very far. Moreover, the old people accept their lot and occasionally joke about it among themselves with the rather biting irony that seems one of the 762 mental characteristics of the group. Some old people kill themselves "from being tired of life." According to Trilles, some used to burn themselves to death voluntarily. According to Largeau, the heirs took the initiative in this so as to make the inheritance available.

888 593 The least wretched old people are those with children, particularly sons (1), since daughters usually live with their affinal family. There does exist a genuine obligation for children to provide parents with food, which is sanctioned by paternal or maternal curse in case of default.

f. Death and the Afterlife

761 Every death is suspect, but that of a *nya* *mə̂tə̂* more than another, 763 because a *nya* *mə̂tə̂* does not die: someone kills him, though it may be none other than himself. Therefore the death of a man of some 753 importance was always followed by an autopsy: the *ngengañ* would cut open the body and examine the thoracic organs, *nlem*, the seat of intellect and will, to look for signs of sorcery, the work either of another or of the dead man should his *évu* have turned against him or been killed by a malignant agency. There also appears to have been a magic process, *éwə̂mə̂lə̂*, that revived the dead long enough to put questions concerning the cause of death.

766 If the autopsy revealed that the deceased was a sorcerer, *nnem*, the body was burned or thrown into a large river or perhaps buried at 764 a crossroads far from the village. If he were mie, free of *évu*, the regular mortuary rites ensued. The body was washed in warm water, massaged and softened, then rubbed with *baa* dissolved in palm oil, wrapped in a white loincloth, watched over by armed men while the grave was made ready and the relatives /102/ and affinal kin /*alliés*/

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1. Cf. Eza Boto, *Ville cruelle* (no. 182), for an illustration of relations between mother and son.

764 in neighboring villages were informed. The dead man's fellow initiates came to lift the corpse onto a stretcher-coffin of bark (1) and danced around him the funeral dance proper to their association, at which women were not allowed to be present but were shut into their huts, where they wailed in a shrill key. The grave was narrow and quite deep, with a plank or "bamboo" bed at the bottom on which the dead man was placed on his back, feet toward the west (near a river, the grave was dug parallel to the course and the feet were placed downstream, *nké* = downstream or west). Above was built a platform of round logs on which were piled — after having been "killed" by breaking — all the personal possessions of the dead man that did not belong to the family patrimony, his weapons, tools, and jewelry. Now and then, only rarely, one of his wives would be sacrificed to keep him company (it is possible that the execution of wives convicted of having killed their husbands has been confused with a sacrifice of this kind). The grave was filled in and covered with a mound, which was sometimes provided with a flue at the head end by which "to feed" the dead man. The graves of prominent men were dug in, or in front of, their huts, those of ordinary people outside the village on the edge of the forest. Graves of family heads were guarded so as to prevent outsiders from carrying off the skull;
[778] this was cut off by the privileged heir, *njian*, the replacement, who placed it with the other ancestral skulls in the *biéti* shrine, after dye-
[386] ing it with *baa*. A statuette in umbrella-tree wood was carved and painted white, and inside it were enclosed some of the hair and a phalanx of the dead man; this was placed upon the *biéti* altar. The tibia of the dead man had previously been removed for the *ngil* rite.

Matrons, *benya binga*, were buried by *mevungu* initiates in a ceremony which men did not attend. Ordinary women /*femmes du*

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[177] 1. The fig-bark coffin recalls the custom, borrowed from the Pygmies, of putting the body of a chief in a hollow tree or between the buttresses of certain large trees.

[824] The fig has an important magic role. A fig tree was planted at the founding of a new village, and slips were carried away upon migration. (J. B.)

764 commun/ were buried by their co-wives and the women of their affinal family. Bongô and bikeñelé were buried at home with no other ceremonial than the mother's mourning.

783 When signs of sorcery were found on a corpse, the ngengañ or
787 mvimvi'i turned to divination to find the presumed culprit, who was subjected to an ordeal of bitter herbs. As a general thing, wives had
695 to submit regularly to the pimento or ant ordeals to make them confess not only the part they might have had in the husband's death but also their adulteries. When no one was found responsible for the death of a mie individual (nonsorcerer), it was decided that he had been the victim of a breaking of taboo, nsem, sometimes unwittingly. Whatever the cause of death, sorcery or ñsem or repercussion from
783 an act of sorcery, purification always occurred, generally by a sacrifice at the end of the mourning period (meyep). /103/

765 The duration of mourning was, and still is, a mbu /six months/, but it is now less rigorous. Formerly the wives of the dead man were secluded, naked, for a month in his hut, the first wife lying on his bed; their heads and all their body hair were shaved, and they were painted white with ash and forbidden to wash or do their hair until the end of mourning. The dead man's brothers and sons shaved their heads and let their beards grow without trimming or combing; their foreheads were painted white and they wore only old clothes. They had to observe a series of prohibitions concerning certain ways of hunting, the eating of certain kinds of game (perhaps the dead man's personal totem?), all journeys, the circumcision of the dead man's sons, the use of a bed, etc. The end of mourning was marked by a sacrifice and often by a melan ceremony in order to enter into communication with the dead man.

The strictest mourning was observed for the death of an esa, a man of the father's age grade, less for a monyañ and hardly any for a mongô. With regard to women, a man observed solemn mourning only for his mother and first wife, and this meant mourning within the family, while a man's death involved the whole village. However, an epidemic was followed by heavy mourning, and when the one presumed responsible was identified, it was not enough that he
766 pay avutan, compensation, he was burned or drowned (his immediate
795 family was constrained to pay the avutan), and then a general
783 purification was undertaken.

177 764 Obviously this has now changed, but perhaps not so much as one would imagine: every year the courts are aware of several ordeals after a death, of mutilations of corpses which are really autopsies, of sums of money extorted which are customary compensation payments imposed on the "person responsible" for a death. And we may assume that in this connection three-quarters of the cases never reach the European courts. Funeral rites have, however, been lightened and colored by Christian influence, even when the deceased had remained to the end attached to the old beliefs: his wives or children usually call in a *nkat foé* (news-announcer = catechist) to say the prayers for the dead and to sing psalms or hymns. The old-fashioned cylindrical bark litter has been replaced by a European plank coffin, gradually even for women and children. The graves of the well-to-do have masonry walls and are covered with a concrete slab bearing name, date of death, and a pious text, or even with a small flower bed framed with bricks or bottle necks, with a grave stone or cross at the head. The dead man's hut is no longer destroyed, especially if made of "solid" material, nor are his personal effects broken. Often the body is washed and dressed in European clothes instead of being anointed with *baa*; the white shroud remains. In Christian families women take part in wakes for men and attend their burials; men attend the burials of women but rarely take part in their wakes. In [795] /104/ many villages the different /Christian/ sects have separate cemeteries.

765 177 Mourning is less rigorous and is often expressed by the European black arm band and tie worn by men. In the villages widows are still rather ill-treated (cf. above, pp. 128-129), but their sequestration has been reduced to a week, and they are allowed to wash after a month or two. Most of the prohibitions of the mourning period have fallen out of use, and the end of mourning is marked by a family gathering which has more about it of a certain kind of French provincial New Year's Eve party than of the old purificatory rites.

761 Death in the traditional concept is not so much the cessation of life as the dissociation of the personality. *Enyiñ*, life, comes from the verb *nyiñ* meaning "to survive" rather than "to be alive"; /thus life represents/ a kind of dynamism opposed to the static *to*, *tabe* = to be, exist, remain, etc.

826 774 The body, *nyul* or *nyôl*, is perishable and corruptible; it supports the other elements of the personality, above all the *nsisim* or *nsisiñ*,

826 774 the shadow or immaterial duplicate of the body. The heart and lungs, nlem, are the seat of the intellect and sensibility, especially of the consciousness of good and evil, the seat of the moral and mental personality. It is by way of the nlem that a person's mind is struck, that, for instance, he is made mad; through their évur the beyem do di nlem, eat the nlem, of their victims. The nlem for a time survives death; the nsisim seems to be immortal. Breath, avebe (from vebe, to breathe, derived from vee = to be alive, alert) is characteristic of physiological life (1).

> 1. Among the Ewôndo, the breath, ewundu (Boulou, evunulu = wind) is characteristic of the human being, as is nsisim; animals are not provided with either, that is why they can be eaten. (J. B.)

Strength, tye, tyi, kie, or ki, is somehow external to the individual, independent of him, yet that which insures the cohesion of the elements of the personality. It seems to be particularly localized in the nlem (thoracic organs) and the boo, brain, which is evidently the seat of action (the verb bo = to do, to act), whence the importance 769 of skulls in the ancestral cult, biéti. Ngul, which may also be translated "strength, " is more "capacity" or "power, " the faculty of making use of tyi. It is impersonal, it pre-exists and survives the individual, who during his lifetime can waste or augment it; it is the basis for magic and sorcery, tyi being in itself neither good nor bad. Everything that exists possesses tyi, including the dead, but living beings possess more than inanimate beings, and men more than other living beings. Sacrifices and prohibitions revalue around this notion, as vocabulary well shows: étyi = prohibition, metyi = blood, atyi = egg, tyik = to cut, to kill, to command, etc., (cf. above p. 25). The dead keep a certain amount of strength, which makes them at the same time potentially dangerous and potentially usable.

551 A name, jôé, jui, also pre-exists and survives the person it distinguishes, whence the special ties between bemôé /105/, homonymns, and also the need to know a person's name in order to cast a spell upon him, etc. A dead man keeps his name until it is given to one

551 of his descendants, in whose person he will be repeated rather than reembodied. It should be remembered that jôé also means "authority," a notion that cannot be dissociated from that of name.

764 The cessation of vital functions, awu (from wu, to die), is not
828 thought of as necessarily final: catalepsy, deep coma, anaesthesia, and real death are confused. It is evident that if the body is hurt during awu, a revival is impossible. A ghost, kôn (Fang, khun), is
754 not necessarily physically dead: one of the most feared forms of
828 sorcery, at which the Ndôň are reputed to be particularly expert, consists of separating a person from his nsisim, shade or double, by giving him the appearance of physical death, then in awakening the body which will thereafter automatically obey the sorcerer's orders and may be used by him for all sorts of ends, to go kill or steal, or, more prosaically, to work his plantations. Persons thus transformed into bekôn are recognized by their pallor, jerky movements, and haggard expression; they survive the experience /opération/ for only a few months before dying in great physical and moral agony (1).

[276] 1. I have reason—but no proof—to believe that this is more than a myth: perhaps the criminal use of a narcotic producing effects similar to those of Pentothal. A kôn, frightful to see, died at the Sangmélima dispensary in 1947. The judicial inquiry revealed nothing.

761 Death in the complete sense does not occur for some time after the cessation of vital functions, and funeral rites seem to have had the purpose of detaching the individual from his mortal shell. There
776 *were two abodes of the dead. The bemie, those unblemished by* ngbwel (sorcery by évu), crossed the river-of-the-west or the sea to go to the village of Zâmbe (Zobeyo, Nzame) in a cold country where their nsisim led a life rather like that in a terrestrial village where everything goes well (2). The beyem went down to étôtôlaŋ, the

2. According to Trilles, this would have been Venus, otya alu, "the night's torch."

775 subterranean abode of the dead, . where they were the prey of flames. A tradition reported by Largeau tells of the dead man arriving at the bridge over the river-of-the-west to meet there the judges, Oyem-Bôt (He-Who-Knows-Men) and Oka'Bot (He-Who-Divides-Men /Repartit-les-Homme/), who question him and allow him to cross the bridge leading to Mon-Anen (Great Being), who questions him in the presence of the dead and makes sure that he has "left his name" (that he has forgotten it in the land of the living). He is then turned over to the Divider-of-Men /Partageur-des-Hommes/, who cuts him in two, one half staying among the living, while the other, having been given a new name, goes to the dead. It is difficult to decide what precise part of the person remains with his descendants; in my view it is name-authority; in any case I do not believe it to be the nsisim. It might be the kôn but, in such a case, the result of an accident, for a ghost is a disturbing neighbor, if not a dangerous one, in any case very fearsome, often malevolent. Its appearance is that of a living [143] person, except that it is white /106/, whence the belief that albinos are the children of ghosts. The nsisim, on the other hand, who can turn up during a person's lifetime in a place distant from where he is (witches' and sorcerers' power of bilocation), is immaterial but absolutely identical in appearance with the body. The kôn might be the ghost of a person whose funeral rites had not been correctly performed, of an imperfectly exorcised sorcerer or, if one wishes, one imperfectly sterilized (for instance, if the corpse had not been burned), or even of a person who died without being purified of a nsem (1).

1. Among the Ewɔndo, the dead who have not yet crossed the bridge leading to ésam nzigi, the abode of the dead, are called *ŋgudu*. *(J. B.)*

776 825 It also may happen that a dead man becomes embodied in a wild animal living near a village, and that, henceforth, "cannot" be killed. I have not been able to find out exactly whether this is a matter of actual impossibility or of a respect taboo. The animal may be benevolent, like the old gorilla, a former Mvaé chief, who protected the Nyabisañ village gardens against the depredations of "real" gorillas in 1948, or, on the contrary, malevolent, like one Zaman, turned panther, who ravaged his affinal family's flocks in the Boucle

775 du Dja region during the same period. This incarnation is probably
825 related to the totemism or the alliance between a man and an animal
élañela, which Trilles discusses at length (no. 166). The incarnation
is only temporary and ends at the death or disappearance of the animal.

775 As a result of mission influence, nlam bekon, the land of the dead,
777 is now divided into heaven and hell, which are none other than
Zambe's village and étôtôlan. Souls in purgatory seem to be confused in village minds with dissatisfied bekôn, who are always disturb-
[761] ing. The notion of natural death, brought about neither by sorcery nor by breaking a prohibition, has not developed at all: after all, "the wages of sin is death," and "sin' has been rendered as nsem in translations of the Scriptures. Therefore the dead continue to belong to society, even though the decline of the ancestor cult, the biéti, and of the initiations with a probable totemic character like sô, have weakened their bonds with the living.

775 This belief in survival perhaps explains a certain scorn of death,
762 which is indicated not only by bravery in war and the suicides of the old, but also suicides for the sake of a point of honor: a woman kills herself in order to take revenge on her husband, a man because he
[681] considers himself offended or injured. The "one responsible" for such a suicide is severely judged by public opinion, and must pay compensation and make an expiratory sacrifice.

3. Religion and Magic

777 Aside from a few old people who are known as "children of the old ways" (or "of the old knowledge"), bo' biyem bi nnom, and who are treated as pagans by their children, and, even more uncommon, a few /107/ young people who declare themselves to be agnostics, the great majority if not the mass of contemporary Pahouin claim to be attached to one of the sects that has done evangelical work in the region: French or American Presbyterian, /Roman/ Catholic, /Seventh Day/ Adventist. In fact, and with no intention of arguing over the statistics that give proportions of 105 percent "Christian" in certain districts, the influence of Christianity is indeed considerable, but it is tinged with animist survivals and revivals to an extent and in ways that only a great deal of detailed research could present accurately.

771 781 114 The first observers described the Pahouin, especially the Fang, as "less superstitious," "less given to fetishism" than neighboring populations. Trilles and Martrou emphasized their profound religious sentiment, while Allégret (no. 147) gives very interesting information about the feeling of religious destitution they experienced, particularly after contact with Europeans. Often observed also has been the ease with which they would adopt new beliefs and ceremonies, and this refers not only to Christian sects but to cults like *bwiti* and *ngôl* and even, before the last war, to freemasonry in the vicinity of Libreville.

All these influences are so intermingled that we must resort to a kind of conjectural palaeontology in order to reconstruct their original beliefs. Without casting any reflection upon the intellectual integrity of observers like Trilles and Martrou, we must recognize—and regret—that a certain professional slant from time to time affected their conclusions, to a point that induces us to turn instead to laymen much less well qualified linguistically, like Largeau, of whom Trilles has shown himself perhaps a little too critical.

a. Concept of God, Creation

776 The Pahouin believe (or used to believe, see later on) in a creator god Mebe'e (Fang, Mebere, Mebeghe), eternal, formerly immanent, becoming infinitely transcendant after the first *nsem*.

The word Mebe'e seems to be related to the verb *be'e*, to carry, which has the agent-noun, *mbe'e*. *Mbe'e* is a plural form, corresponding to nouns of action and also to the collective plural forms of names of liquids (*mendim* = water, *metyi* = blood, *meyôm* = sperm, etc.). It is usually accompanied by triple apposition: "*Mebe'e*, *Mebe'e menkpwa*, *sokuma*, *mbongbwe*" (or, according to Trezenem, *mba angwe*). The meaning of these three qualifiers is as uncertain as that of *Mebe'e*; *menkpwa* should probably be connected with *kpwaé* = to strike down, to judge, to condemn; *sokuma* with *kôm* (*kum*) = to arrange, to direct, *sɔ̂* conveying the idea of generosity, rectitude, balance (Boulou, *soso*, *zoso*); *mbongbwé* would then, according to Grebert, mean "creator of generations" (*bo* = to make; *ngbwé* = maternal kinship), but could also be /108/ connected with *ngbwa* = love, friendship, alliance, with the sense of "he who makes an alliance" or "he who loves."

776 A definition is added to these qualifiers, given by Mebe'e himself in reply to men who asked him what his name was, and reported by Largeau thus, the formula varying slightly in detail according to other writers: Mebe'e me se kôm, ke môt, ke minga, ke nyia, ke ésa, émien étam étam, ke yoo-yoé, a tame mebialé me bôt, which means, more or less, "Mebe'e, with no one, without wife, mother, father, all alone by himself, impenetrable (lit., 'not open,' perhaps in the sense of 'without beginning'), starts the generations."

Largeau gives weight to traditions that run counter to this concept of uniqueness, according to which Mebe'e (he connects the word with a verb meaning "to divide"?) would be none other than the sun and would have begotten man by a union with the female principle Anghe Ndongha, "universal womb" (?). But he himself admits the "vague" nature of these traditions "mumbled by a few old men."

Mebe'e is uncreated and eternal. He declares to the first man: A mon wôm, me se k'asum, me se k'aman, me ne fo'o mbembé, "O my son! I have no beginning (origin), no end, I am in truth he that endures (bembe = to be fixed)."

773 "Feeling lonely by himself," writes Trilles, Mebe'e, "when things were not yet," decides to create man (môt = a person /persona?--Tr./. He creates a lizard out of clay and five days later puts it into a bowl of water (sea water, according to Trilles) where he leaves it for seven full days. On the eighth day he shouts, "Come forth!" Man comes out and gives thanks. Trilles rightly emphasizes the beauty of the scene: Alu mwom ane a nga ke dé'é, nyina: Ku'i! A nga kui, a to môt. Ane, a nga kutubu mebofí, nyina: Abotan. "On the eighth day (lit., the eighth night) then, he goes to look, then: Come forth! (lit., Emerge!). It emerges; it is a man. And he falls on his knees: Thanks! (lit., Praises!)"

This first man is called Nzame or Zambe (Boulou, Zobeyo) or, more accurately, Nzame Mebe'e. According to the tradition reported by Largeau, he gave himself this name at the time he gave the creator the nâme Mebe'e. According to others, Mebe'e named Nzame. The name may be related to the Fang verb dzame (Boulou, jame), meaning "to leave," "no longer to be concerned with," and also "to forgive a debt," "to pardon." Nzame would thus be "he who pardons" or "he who abandons," the form Zambe used in the north being a dialectal variant or perhaps a passive derivative. Trilles for his part attributes to Nzame the meaning of "the invisible one," translating the verb *dzame* by "to efface oneself," explainable by Trilles' continually confusing Mebe'e and Nzame, the creator and the created. Nzame and Zambe can apparently be related to a whole series /of words/ with similar meaning in nearby Bantu languages and, perhaps, to the West Indian Creole *zombi*. But the relationship is less obvious with the Boulou Zobeyo, whose origin, which is obscure, is perhaps connected with the verbs *zu*, "to arrive" (in Boulou) or *zü*, *dzü*, "to open" (in Fang) and *yoo* or *yooé*, "to be open," "to open"; /the meaning/ is approximately /109/ "opening of those who open," in the sense of "first ancestor."

Traditions differ about the origin of the first woman. Largeau gives two. According to one, Mebe'e, having taught Nzame to clear the forest and plant trees, puts him to sleep and, having cut off a large toe, fashions it into the first woman, Nyingono Mebe'e (Nyingon = mother-daughter). According to the other tradition, he would have fashioned at the same time as Nzame his sister, Oyeme = Mam (she-who-knows-things). My Ntoumou informant, who knew both legends, reconciled them by referring to the Bible, a common attitude among old Protestants in Gabon, who are made very uneasy by discrepancies between the Hebrew and the Pahouin Genesis.

In any event, Mebe'e makes all animals subject to the first man and woman so that they will work for them. But Nzame disturbs this arrangement by fornicating with his sister: this is the great *nsem*, the breaking of a prohibition, the initial incest that introduces death to the earth. Mebe'e "dies" or, rather, removes himself from mankind and departs, leaving to Nzame, whom the animals have ceased to obey, authority over the world.

Oyeme-Mam then brings forth eight sets of twins, male and female, who are the ancestors of the Pahouin, the white men, Pygmies, gorillas, chimpanzees, red men, and the coastal tribes.

Not much is known of the next bit of the legend because the versions vary greatly according to the reporter. Roughly, Nzame teaches agricultural methods to his children and goes to seek from Mebe'e (by dying, to be resurrected later?) the secrets of the crafts (1).

Before leaving his children in final "death," (he does not, in fact, die

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1. According to some, these were taught by the spider.

773 physically: "His tomb is neither above nor below, neither to the right nor to the left"), he divides his possessions, a division which is disturbed by quarrels, the machinations of younger sons or the negligence of the elder ones. He then departs beyond the river-of-the west, followed by the white men (or the coastal tribes?) who by a ruse have got hold of part of the biôm inherited by the Pahouin. The latter in turn start westward, crossing the Osoe Nnanga, then the nlôm adjap (hole in the silk-cotton tree) as described earlier (see p. 19).

776 777 Nzame (Zambe) is emphatically not the creator god but the ancestor = mentor; all genealogies go back to him. Yet all the Christian missions have taken his name to express the idea of God. This mistake has come about because the word Mebe'e was rarely spoken, while Nzame turned up in all "salutations," in everything that had to do with the ancestor cult. As the original monitor he could be confused with the creator — in fact, he in a way completed "natural" creation by the magical invention of the arts and crafts. As an ancestor he was solicited in prayers (meya'alan) by his descendants, while Mebe'e was not addressed except on rare occasions—in solemn vows, at initiations. Finally, the very fact of having been misled from the first /110/ made it difficult to go back to the first translation. It may well be though that this mistake, the substitution of the creature for the creator, the deification of man, has not been without influence on the social development of the Pahouin. The Mintangan, who actually came from the nlam bekôn, the land of the dead, brought with them a genuine theological revolution, a heresy to which their material wealth gave a sure guarantee. The psychological repercussions must have been considerable.

[778] Nowadays one hears it currently said that "Mebe'e is the old name for Zambe," and the latter seems to be permanently established in his usurped role (1); the traditions connected with the two personages are inextricably mixed with Christian contributions, to such a degree that we may speak of a new theogony being formed in the syncretist cults and in some Christian schismatic movements.

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1. Good, the first American missionary among the Boulou, was nicknamed "Ngôô Zambe," Zambe's ransom, which may have been not merely an approximation of his name.

b. Ancestor Cult, Totem, Spirits

769 We have seen that practically no worship was offered to the creator Mebe'e, only to Zambe (Nzame), the first ancestor, who was invoked as the father of all. But resort to Zambe was rather exceptional; people first asked for help, *meya'ale*, or protection, *akam*, from the nearest ancestors, *bimvam*.

The most characteristic form of the ancestor cult was the *biéri* (*biéti*), particularly well developed among the southernmost tribes and especially among the true Fang. Its priest was the living ancestor, the father, *esa*, and it had an acting hierarchy corresponding to the
769 different levels of the social structure and the clan organization, a
776 hierarchy of a religious rather than political character, as the authority which was derived from it being primarily /one of/ reverence. The main cult equipment consisted of the skulls of male ancestors, which the father, the senior, guarded in a basket, *évora biéri* (*éwolé biéti*), a kind of ark which the family group carried with it during its migrations. It was a fig-bark cylindrical box, decorated with beads and clan emblems (*mindem*); on the cover was a statuette of the first ancestor. The *évora biéri* was kept on a sort of altar (the view of which was *étyi* to women and the uninitiated) placed either in the hut of the head of the family or in a special hut. The *évora* was transported in a case of delicate basketwork, guarded by armed initiates. The skulls were painted with *baa* and sometimes decorated with copper or bead inlay.

769 When a younger son established a new village, the founder's skull was the first to be placed in the ark: the village he had left kept the skulls of the preceding ancestors of the lineage. Hence it may be imagined that the custodian of the lineage skulls had a certain amount of authority, delegated by the ancestors of higher rank, over the heads of splinter families, while he himself was somehow /111/ subordinate to the custodian of the ancestral skulls common to the segment, and so, one after the other ascending and descending the genealogical trees, from Zambe, departed and yet alive, to the living *émvam* of the last generation.

When a family split up without a quarrel, the senior, *ntôl*, of the new group received from his *ésa*, in place of the skulls which were supposed to stay with the original segment, a statuette containing fragments of ancestral bones, phalanges, teeth, or cranial bones.

769 The figure was placed on the new group's first family altar, and so
afterwards were the skulls of the founder and of the benya bôtô of suc-
ceeding generations. A full biéri basket was the sign of a group's
[554] antiquity, which doubtless implied prestige more than genuine authority,
yet nevertheless represented the nearest approach to political authority
that existed in the Fang group, particularly if one takes into account
the fact that officials of interclan associations were chosen from among
the owners of many skulls, whence prestige extended to a large number
of mvôk or meyom. The prestige of the living was exerted through
the authority of the dead.

Skulls were, indeed, the seat or receptacle of the individual's
[826] capacity for action (we must remember that bo = to make, boo = brain),
and the use of skulls in the practice of magic was not confined to an-
cestral skulls only: the skulls of enemies killed in battle or sacrificed
in anthropophagous ceremonies before or afterward were preserved,
and so were those stolen from neighbors. In the same way the skulls
of the kinds of animals desired were used for hunting rites. However,
it seems that a distinction was made between family skulls and out-
siders' skulls, only the first having a place in the éwolé biéti and
[782] appearing in family rites. The power of the skulls was increased by
sprinkling them with sacrificial blood.

769 When a youth reached nya mbôtô age he had to learn to recognize
his ancestors so as to be able to ask for their help when the occasion
869 arose. Their skulls were shown to him until he could identify them
881 individually and put them in the correct genealogical order. When
he was able to do this, he was given a brew of the narcotic herb alan,
[296] then spent a night in the biéti hut, facing the skulls, which had been
removed from the éwolé and placed on the altar on which strongly
scented plants were burned. During the night the ancestors appeared
and gave him a cognomen and imposed one or more new taboos (at
the same time he was relieved of certain prohibitions connected with
age). Apparently it was during this initiation that his individual totem
was revealed (if it was indeed a totem).

769 This question of the totem is very poorly elucidated, in spite of
614 some 600 pages devoted to the subject by Father Trilles. He dis-
114 tinguishes between clan, segment, individual, family, and society
totems, etc. He also distinguishes a tutelary being, mvame, from
the "effect of a tutelary being"; akam, an animal totem, from a
dedicated animal or an incarnation of a man in an animal, etc. He

769 also discriminates between the *ésayoñ*, ancestor cult /112/, and the
614 *mvamayoñ*, totemic cult. It must be admitted that there is now no
114 chance of obtaining a cross-checking of his theories except on points of detail, although that is no formal condemnation of his theories; it is the consequence of a shortage of researchers, lack of respect on the part of the researchers, or loss of traditions of initiation. The following points may be considered as established:

mvam (*émvam*) connotes ideas of a forefather, dead or alive, lineal and protective.

[784] *akam*, protection, is sometimes used in speaking of animals, to indicate the reason for a prohibition; the verb *kam* having a defending-protecting meaning as well as that of forbidding-prohibiting.

All prohibitions are not tied up with these notions, but some are and they may well be individual prohibitions as well as hereditary collective ones, not necessarily involving animals.

Clan markings, *mindem*, and tattoo marks, *mindan*, are often connected with a prohibition.

825 There is a whole system of animal symbolism, evident particularly in tales and augury ("zoomancy," divination by spiders).

[788] Certain animals are connected with initiation cults: very definitely the *sô* and snakes (dendraspis and python); probably the porcupine and tortoise (with feminine rites); perhaps the gorilla (*njil*; *ngil*, Johnson's tone 4, the *ngil* rite having tone 5).

[553] There does not appear to be any connection between an animal name borne by a person (Mvɔ̀mɔ̂ • Python, Zo'o • Elephant, Ze • Panther, etc.) and the prohibitions he is subject to.

614 Moreover, the following, it seems pretty certain, are not specifically related to totemism:

825 Alliance, *élat* or *ngbwa*, between a person and a particular animal.

A sorcerer's employing an animal, *nkuk* (observe that *nkuk* also means "mask") to carry out his sorcery at a distance.

[775] The incarnation of a sorcerer in the body of an animal, *élañela* (Trilles applies this name to the *nkuk*).

The temporary incarnation of a dead man in an animal's body.

The first three phenomena often seem to be confused in the minds of present-day Pahouin, and the fourth may be the consequence of this.

773 It is curious that the legend recounted by Trilles about the crocodile, which he considers to be the "national totem," represents

773 the animal pursuing the ancestors of the Fang in order to devour them, while the legendary history of migration collected in the north shows, on the contrary, the crocodile enabling the tribe to cross the Osoɛ Nnanga (the python performs this service for the Beti).

776 The observation made by the authors quoted on the "unsuperstitious" character of the Pahouin and of the slight development /113/ of "fetishism" among them is to be related to the almost total absence in their mythology of beings intermediary between God and man, genii or demigods.

Aside from the bivuɛ, to be discussed in connection with sorcery,
776 there are only the bingunguɛ (Fang)(Boulou, bingôngôt) shown in some
825 legends as kinds of ogres or ghouls haunting forests and attacking travelers. According to another interpretation, these rather are evil animals endowed with intelligence and malevolence beyond that of normal members of their species, perhaps animal sorcerers. The inoffensive aardvark, mvômesila, is thus very much feared; also a sort of very rare Pithecanthropus (Fang, énguɛ; Boulou, éngu'u) and a mermaid, the mammywôta of the coast, no doubt a lamantin /or manatee/. For Trilles, the éngunguɛ is a "spirit, often transformed into an animal, which sorcers obey"; may there not be a confusion here with the évuɛ (Boulou, évu)?

775 As for ghosts, bekôn, it might be said that there are good ones
769 but no nice ones. One may usually get on with the kôn of a properly buried forebear who was respected in his lifetime and even obtain useful services from him, formerly paid for by sacrifices and libations
782 to his skull and often today by candles, Masses, or prayers (I have
797 known Protestants to go to Catholic missionaries for exorcism). There is more difficulty /in dealing/ with the kôn of a sorcerer or with that of a stranger neither whose name nor whose skull is in one's possession.

266 Lawful /non criminelle/ anthropophagy probably had for an end, among others, that of acquiring power over the bekôn of enemies and perhaps of assimilating the rights they derived from their ancestors. This wartime cannibalism appears to have existed especially on the geographical fringes of the group and particularly along the invasion front, among the Fang proper, the vanguard of the migration. A relative or affinal kin was never eaten, only strangers, and these only by warriors (or sometimes by sons of warriors killed by the enemy). It is worth noting that for the cannibalism of the Fang and Oyéba only the "Gabonese" felt the terror described by all explorers. The

266 Boulou and Ntoumou, who often fought the Fang, do not accuse them of cannibalism, which seems to prove that this /practice/ was restricted to "foreign" wars, to conquests. Intestinal cannibalism was held in horror and practiced only by sorcerers, often called *bedi bôt*, man-eaters. *Di nlem*, usually translated as "soul eating," means literally "to eat the thoracic organs" and may be applied to outright material consumption of these internal organs. On the other hand, the anthropophagy or "necropophagy" that might be qualified as homeopathic, which consists of swallowing in a *biañ* (*mbiañ*) a tiny amount, often as ash, of an ancestor's or an initiate's body, has nothing criminal about it and apparently used to be part of all important rites. /113/ From this point of view, the communion meal of the body of the *sô*, if this rite is truly totemic, represented perhaps manducation of the ancestor.

As for gastronomic cannibalism, it is a story for the picture papers. Not only man's flesh but even that of anthropoids, aside from the cases mentioned above, is absolutely taboo /the plural *bityi* is used here. —Tr./, and accidental consumption or consumption enforced
[261 by absolute necessity (for instance, if hunters are marooned by a
783] flood) entails rigorous purification.

c. Elements of Cosmogony

772 Our knowledge of the traditional world view is largely conjectural
823 too, for the reasons already pointed out. We may state with reasonable certainty two fundamental concepts:

- Orientation of space and time referred to the apparent movement of the sun; perhaps it would be better to speak of space-time, as the two ideas are closely connected.
- The principle described by Stoll as "double symmetry," which could also be called "sexual complementarity" and summed up as the equilibrium in tension of all elements of the universe /*création*/.

These two concepts are, as things stand, tied together if not inseparable.

Time and space flow from east to west in a declining movement. East is *ôkm*, upstream, high, and male; west, *nke*, is downstream, low, and female. The earth, *si*, is surrounded by water, or rather, enclosed by water and darkness, /thus/, *ndim* = blind; *mendim* =

772 water; dim = to terminate, to extinguish, to sink (in connection with
(123 a star); dimi = to get lost; dip = to close; dibi = dark, opaque. (According to Tressenem, the world is surrounded by the river éndam, a word related to ndam = width, wide.) The darkness of the east is black (cf. the name of the land of origin, mvô' ékanga = country of high white clouds; low dark rain clouds are minkut); the darkness of the west is white, the feminine color, white, moreover, being the color of mourning and death. The bekôn are white, at least those that remain on earth; those admitted to Zambe's village are red.

In relation to the east-west axis, north is on the right, mbo nnôm, male side, south is on the left, mbo ngal, female side. The dividing line between north and south is the Sanaga (Osóé Nnanga = white river, river of the albinos) crossed by the python, mvôm, who is also the rainbow (though a Fang tradition in eastern Gabon mentions a river, the Evindi, that is, "black"). North is connected with red (1), the masculine /115/ and festival color. South is also noon, midday, nane mos, and the zenith, yôbe jôp (yôp = sky, high, height; jôp sun, in Fang, dôô); it is the side of light, vian, sunlight, or éfufup, brightness.

[821] The sky, yôp, seems to be supported by an iron post (akoñ = post or spear, a masculine symbol) held by the sister-wife of Zambe, Nyingon Mebe'e. The sky appears both masculine and feminine, like the earth; the sun is masculine, the moon feminine.

Thus we come to define two opposing directions or sectors on the compass card: the N/E quadrant is male; the S/W quadrant is female—the two others seem to be neuter. The NE-SW diameter bisects

[822] 1. Evindi, éfumulu, and évele, "black," "white," and "red," are the only names of colors in the language. They are applied to the near shades: a grey is "white" or "black," a blue or green is "black," ochre or light brown is "red," light yellow is "white," etc. For greater exactness, similes are used—so'obon, "aquatic moss," for green, jôp, "sun," "egg yolk," for orange or yellow—or loan words like "blue,"

772 the two opposite angles and would represent the axis of migration,
823 mfa'a mañ, "toward the sea." The masculine direction seems to have been the place of origin of the ye (feminine?) clans, the feminine direction, that of the ésa clans. Trilles places with the latter the ébi clans, which are, geographically, from eastern clans; I wonder if they ought not rather to be connected with the ye clans since ébi means "hole," "chasm" (yee = valley, ravine). In the bilaba, masculine commodities come from the female sector, and vice versa.

772 These apparent contradictions would be resolved by applying the principle of double symmetry, or of sexual complementarity, similar to that which makes paternal, nonuterine half brothers called bobenyañ,
[601] "my mother's sons." This principle might be expressed somewhat as follows: every being capable of life must, in order to exist and be complete, include the opposite sex. In other words, bisexuality, a universal vital principle, should be found in every part of the universe /création/. Stoll finds proof of this in the language, where the tone
[illegible] levels in his view constitute genuine differentiation by grammatical sex genders, and especially in the rites whose purpose appears to be not to make men entirely masculine or women entirely feminine, but rather to give to each sex the necessary complement of the opposite sex.

Whatever may be thought of this theory, it is a fact that, because
[illegible] of the apparent or real absence of grammatical sex gender in the language, the majority of the early writers, even Trilles, did not attach enough importance to real gender, to the sex actually attributed to objects, particularly to magical and ritual materials. We know that spear, akoñ, saber, fa, and probably the large drum, mbaé, are male; calabashes and cooking pots, rattles (mengoñ), the double bell (nkeñ) are female; the drum-telephone, nkul, is androgynous; horns for medicaments, minlak, are male at the pointed end, female at
801 the hollow end, and the same with the rifle. As to numbers, my conclusions are diametrically opposed to those of Stoll, who believes even numbers to be male, and odd, female, though admittedly he advances as proof the large part played by odd numbers in feminine rites, which runs directly counter to his theory of double symmetry.

The numerical system is in any event only imperfectly known.
[illegible] Counting is based on 10, with traces of an 8:10, (awôm), basis /116/ and of 8, mwom, /having?/ perhaps the same root as different classifiers. The so number is 9. Nyin, 4, seems related to a YI

801 radical with feminine connotations (yi = to wish, also meaning "to need," "to cry"; it conveys an idea of "desiring," in contrast to kômbô, related to kôm = to arrange, put in order, do properly, and bo = to do, make, conveying an idea of "will"; the passive form of yi, yian, means both "duty" and "to be well," "to suit"). Much research needs to be done while there is still time.

d. Sorcery, Possession

754 Malignant sorcery, ngbwel, is generally attributed to a sorcerer, nnem (plur: beyem, cf. yem = to know, to dream), being possessed by a malevolent being, an évu (Fang, évur, évus). The évu is not an [825] immaterial spirit but a living being, an animal like a crab or centipede, and lodging in the internal organs of the nnem. At an autopsy it is often found in the form of a polyp or tumor, a fibroid tumor in women. It may even happen that the nnem's body does not show such an indication, because the évu has escaped, but there will be some traces of it, fluids, distention of the stomach, colon, or gall bladder. [766] In such cases, as has been said, the corpse is not buried in the usual manner but is burned, thrown into a river, or buried at a crossroads far from the village, in order to prevent the nnem's kôn from returning to haunt relatives and neighbors.

The possessed person may be unaware of the possession, but he is held no less responsible for the harm caused by the évu. The latter goes out at night while the nnem is asleep and feeds on the blood, metyi, hence strength, tyi of its victims, who fall ill, grow weak and die, or it eats their nlem (heart and lungs), which brings on madness or mental decay and often death, too. The évu also feeds on eggs, on metyi /sic/, and on milk, preferably women's milk (menyañ, from nyañ = to give the breast, cf. -nyañ = mother, in compound words), food which village people will not touch. When the évu has trouble in getting food, it may turn against the nnem and kill it for nourishment or, if the nnem is a woman, it may attack the children in her womb. Aside from these occasions, ngbwel is an advantage to the nnem, even when it is unconscious; he benefits from the strength accumulated by the évu during its nocturnal hunts; furthermore, the évu assists him, brings a sort of luck to his undertakings, which is [777] natural, since the évu gains from the nnem's intermediation. This kind of luck, aséé (from a verb, séé, with like meaning: a nga séé

754 777 akum = he has become rich by ngbwel), is to be distinguished from ordinary, accidental luck, ma'a, by its lasting character, which soon arouses public suspicion — this is one of the visible symptoms of ngbwel.

754 683 The involuntary nnem was generally put to death, more easily than the conscious sorcerer, who knew how to protect himself. Nevertheless, it was possible to treat a nnem, by means of a very drastic purification involving physiological as well as psychological catharsis and sometimes by real surgical operations /117/, to which in most cases the patient succumbed. Today the European administration usually prevents the execution of beyem, but their relatives often succeed in persuading them to kill themselves. After an epidemic of
[731] meningitis at Ambam in 1948, two men and two young women, ac-
762 cused by a bwiti diviner of having caused the death of a dozen children by involuntary ngbwel, threw themselves into the N'Tem within the month. In former times, beyem were burned by being covered with wood in such a way as to prevent both the évu and their nsisim from escaping; they were also drowned or buried alive, preferably in the bed of a stream that had been diverted and was then turned back to its old course after the burial.

754 The conscious nnem is both more and less dangerous. Bound to his évu by a kind of pact, he directs its activity instead of allowing it to kill at random as the unconscious nnem does. Therefore, he is more dangerous to his enemies but less so to his kin, although the concluding and maintenance of the alliance with the évu requires him to sacrifice members of his family.

A nnem with a strong personality, tyi anen a nlem ayet, with great strength and a hard heart, can succeed in really controlling his évu and making it a servant that will procure him wealth and power, rid him of his enemies, and confer supernatural powers on him, such as the ability to be in two places at once /bilocation/, to move objects from a distance /telekinesis/, divination, etc. But ngbwel always remains a dangerous art. First of all, the nnem knows that he is condemned after death to be a white kôn, forbidden to cross the ékanga bekôn, the bridge of the dead, to seek the ancestors, mañ ayat, beyond the sea. There are immediate dangers, in addition to that final condemnation. First, the ever present risk that the évu will dominate the nnem and weaken the latter. Next, the risk of a kind of reaction if the évu attacks a stronger nnem or a mie well protected by a bian provided with white magic. Finally, /there is the risk/ of

754 the évu or the animal employed as assistant being killed during a skirmish, which would bring about the nnem's death.

Many people nevertheless regard these disadvantages as weighing little against the immediate advantages which the évu procures. Therefore some bemie (people without évu) have themselves initiated into ngbwel, and some beyem dedicate their children from birth (which has the additional effect of protecting them against the parent's évu). For this purpose beyem organize into secret societies (and these are really secret societies), well described by Trilles and particularly so by Lavignotte (no. 155).

754 [illegible] Babies are dedicated by a nnem kinsman in a ceremony, aka'é, before the umbilicus is healed (the évu is believed to enter through the umbilical lesion). A special taboo is imposed on the child, and a part of his body (finger, toe or even foot, hand or whole arm) is symbolically sacrificed to the évu with a slight letting of blood. From that time on, only the shade of the sacrificed part, its semblance, is believed to continue to exist. The child is then nkôman ngbwel /118/, prepared for the ngbwel, but he is not yet a nnem; if he were it would be discovered at the preliminary stage of the adolescent initiation, and he would be put to death. It is only at the time of initiation with the official rites that he becomes a sorcerer, kuli 754 ngbwel, through a further ceremony during which his "godparents" reveal to him that he has been "prepared," dedicated. He must then buy back the bodily part "sacrificed" at the aka'é by offering his "godparents" the body of a member of his family, killed and eaten by the beyem in circumstances about which little is known. What is 786 834 known suggests some of the sexual aspects of European witches' sabbaths (apparently participants of both sexes, naked, practiced sodomy, biték, and profaned the ancestral relics, probably fragments of biéti). The initiation of an adult consists only of the akuli ngbwel, the aka'é being restricted to children.

754 788 Beyem meet periodically, aside from initiation ceremonies, in order to "feed the bivu" in anthropophagous or necrophagous meals accompanied by obscene rituals. These meetings take place at the new moon in secret places in the forest, usually in clearings on top of hills or on islands in marshes — mmimie are afraid of stumbling by chance on one of these spots which, according to some of my informants, are guarded between meetings by an aardvark, mvômesila. 825 If such a place is discovered, a nnengañ is immediately called in to 755 perform a sort of exorcism.

754 perform a sort of exorcism. Sorcerers seem to be convened to these
788 meetings by secret messages in the form of bundles of sticks notched
[211] according to a particular code, or in the form of the quipu. They
are believed to reach the meetings by levitation or by sending only
754 their nsisim while their bodies remain at home in a state of apparent
774 death. This offers a good chance of getting rid of the sorcerer by
burning his body, the disadvantage being that the nsisim survives, as
does the évu, and that they than can be incarnated in an animal,
which cannot happen if the sorcerer is burnt alive.

The évu may use various methods of moving about outside the
754 nnem's body. Sometimes he leaves it in an invisible and immaterial
774 form, but this method is exceptional. Most often he enters the body
825 of an animal, generally a leopard, but sometimes a black snake,
civet cat, gorilla, or chimpanzee, or even certain insects; the list
is unlimited, but nearly always the animal in question is powerful or
dangerous. The carrier-animal is then almost invulnerable, endowed
both with human intelligence and with the powers of an évu. It is,
however, possible to strike at it, with luck and good mebiañ, and any
injury to the évu rebounds on the sorcerer. On the other hand, injury
to a sorcerer during the évu's absence is not necessarily fatal to the
latter, because the évu can survive in the body of the vehicle-animal.
The latter is called nkuk (1), which can also mean "mask." It is
not clear whether there is a confusion /119/ with the élañela, as
Trilles suggests, or with animal-bekôn, or with those who are beyem
on their own account, or even with bingôngôt (bingungure).

754 There seems to exist alongside ngbwel a /kind of/ sorcery connected with abé nlem or mbia nlem, malignity of the heart, and
having nothing to do with possession by the bivu. Thus practitioners of
kôn, which consists of killing a person while leaving his body alive
(see above, p. 134), would not necessarily be beyem in the strict
sense. Likewise, many malevolent activities are only criminal
deviations from permissible magic. Alliance with an animal, or incarnation in the body of an animal, or even the transformation of a
magician into an animal, need not be malevolent or only becomes so

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[787] 1. Among the Ewôndo, this term also denotes the good bekôn who appear in dreams to give advice to the living. (J.B.)

754 as a result of the magician's natural spitefulness (ézezam = wickedness, disorder; nielañ = malevolence, from élañ = an evil act committed expressly and without necessity: a woe bot elan = he who kills for pleasure, ndan of the begôvina* from the German occupation until the present). A protective biañ against the beyem can be used against an innocent mie, a magical weapon, a spell against a brother. Such an action may constitute not only an étom, a delict, but also a nsem, a breaking of taboo, when initiation into magical technique included a prohibition against using it for evil ends. The same thing holds for the use of certain methods, illegal or immoral in themselves, even when the purpose is permissible or morally good: this is the case with the biañ for /ensuring/ conjugal fidelity, which consists of the husband having his wife drink his sperm; with that for curing an illness by transferring it to another person (transfer to an animal or plant is permissible); with the use of certain mebiañ for fertility, etc. The commonest acts of sorcery do not belong in the ngbwel category (and perhaps also in that of the kôn) and would lead simply to a "civil" suit, neither more nor less than a case of assault and battery or a [683] "natural" homicide. Ngbwel, on the contrary, is always a capital crime, provided that the nnem be not too powerful to escape judgment or punishment.

*/No footnote is given to this puzzling phrase, but "begôvina" may mean "government people." —Tr./

e. Permissible Magic, Divination, Medicine

789 The first aim of licit magic is to fight against sorcerers, especially beyem, but that is only one of its aspects. In fact, it extends to all life's activities, and everyone uses it to a greater or less extent, aside from the specialists, ngengañ or ngañ, magician, mvimvi'i, diviner, mbibian, healer, and nyia bia, singer (1).

[773] 1. Among the Ewôndo there used to be a sort of priest, nzomelo, often a chief, who received the first fruits of maize, blessed sowings, and presided over the ancestor cult. (J.B.)

789 Magic appears to be a technique for making use of the strength, tyi, contained in every element of the universe /création/, which everyone has more or less the capacity, ngul, to employ. Elementary magic is taught within the family, advanced magic /is taught/ in associations, by experienced practitioners and also, nowadays, through /120/ correspondence with European charlatans. All initiations include a course in magic, all associations possess a body of specialists.

787 Divination, mvi'i, and medicine, mboan mebiañ, are to magic in general what in Europe the special branches are to general medicine. [791] Every ngengañ is a diviner and physician, but he may consult a colleague more specialized in one of those branches.

Everyone learns from childhood on to interpret everyday omens, which are mostly taken from "zoomancy:" the flight or song of certain birds, meeting certain animals in certain circumstances, etc. The interpretation of the movements of the victim of a family sacrifice, the abôp spider oracle, asking the advice of ancestors by means of the narcotic herb alañ, (iboga), require that /a person/ be already initiated. Oracles by water, sand or gravel, or conducting minkal tests require much deeper knowledge.

759 The same holds for medicine. Everyone knows the ordinary mebiañ, but for serious cases people must turn to a mbibiañ. The word biañ, usually translated "medicament," "greegree," even "fetish," indicates not only the drug, a pharmaceutical product, but also the whole of a magical act, including the chanting and dancing associated with it for grave illnesses. Pharmacopeoia and therapy proper, to some extent investigated by Baudre, Weber, and Chabeuf in the Cameroons and by Gascón in Spanish Guinea, are or were quite copious. Not only did the mbibiañ know many substances with a mainly vegetable base, but they also knew how to perform several surgical operations [752] —reduction of fractures and dislocations, incision and drainage of deep abcesses, amputations, excision of certain tumors, and perhaps trepanning. But obviously there was a great deal of pure magic mixed up with this practical medicine, and the majority of mebiañ, if they had a therapeutic effect, owed it largely to psychosomatic reactions—which is not peculiar to Pahouin medicine.

791 Aside from medicine and divination and the combating of sorcerers, the essential role of the mingengañ consisted of influencing the shaping of the destiny of the group or of the individuals, if not in controlling their destiny. The powers of high initiates to some extent

791 suggest those of the sorcerers they were fighting, as do some of their procedures. Like them, /high initiates/ were capable of telekinesis and bilocation, etc. Trilles gives numerous examples, some of which he claims to have observed himself. Like /sorcerers, initiates/ could transform themselves into animals or make use of a dedicated animal, élañela. They killed people from a distance, especially by casting a spell on a token /temoin, "witness"/ of the classical type, or by acting directly upon people with their power, ngul, by forcing them to submit to their will. Like sorcerers, also, they could be victims through repercussion.

Considering the circumstances, it is not surprising that /121/ magicians and sorcerers have often been confused, nor that some magicians have been led into making evil use of their knowledge, nor, [754] finally, that contemporary associations, like the mbuti (bwiti), intended to combat sorcery, have borrowed its methods, even in their criminal aspects.

In addition to the magicians proper, there is the singer, ñyia bia, 533 789 who plays an important role in all rites, including initiations. Every important rite and ceremony has its musical accompaniment, with a specific orchestra for the occasion, and a choirmaster, who leads the incantations and acts somewhat as a master of ceremonies, without himself participating directly in the sacrifice or the magical act. It is peculiar to the ñyia bia that he is present at the three major rites, sô, ngil, and ndôngô, as at all magic ceremonies, no matter what his affiliation; apparently he is not liable to the prohibitions concerning participation affecting nesé bôt, ordinary or profane people. He [424] buys and sells or inherits his songs, is not assigned to a caste /n'est pas casté/, yet seems to have enjoyed a certain immunity during the wars of former times, but this may only have been the case with the most celebrated of the beyia bia. There are also female beyia bia, who enjoy the same prerogatives in feminine rites.

778 789 [534] Magical equipment consists, first, of the instruments appropriate to each rite, drums, horns, rattles, bells, the ngôma harp of the bwiti, etc., with a great variety of additional diverse objects: fly-whisks, akpwassa, sometimes mutilated; antelope horns filled with mebiañ; human and animal skulls and bones; pots and calabashes; engraved and decorated magician's spears; masks; the bwiti broken mirror; bikpwélé (iron "bride-price money"); shells, etc. Every magical act, every rite, has its own properties, the complete description of which would require a separate monograph for each. We

778 shall merely point out that part of this equipment, permanently assigned
789 to magical use, is étyi, taboo to the uninitiated and sometimes even to other mingengañ than the owner, that certain objects become bityi after having once been used for this purpose, while others are returned to ordinary use, and others are destroyed after use.

f. Prohibitions

784 Prohibitions, bityi, assume a large place in Pahouin life. Martrou (no. 159) has devoted a special study to them, which is very well documented but still incomplete, because of their number and diversity.

The word étyi comes from the root TYI/KI, conveying an idea of strength (cf. above, p. 133), of authority, and also of cutting, hence of prohibition; /for example, / tyik = to cut, kill, slice, decide; tyili = to render taboo; tyii = to have a taboo (étyi is the nominal-resulting form of the last verb); tyilan = to be taboo. /122/

A complete listing of the bityi is probably impossible, but a brief classification may be attempted by distinguishing /the following/:

Food prohibitions and prohibitions of actions.
Among prohibitions of actions there are those protecting certain animals, marriage prohibitions, and general sexual prohibitions.
Individual prohibitions and collective prohibitions.
Hereditary prohibitions and personal prohibitions.
Temporary and permanent prohibitions.
Masculine, feminine, and age-grade prohibitions.
Ordinary prohibitions (zezé bityi) and capital prohibitions, bityi awu (mortal ones).

All together they form a sort of network that covers every act,
777 every phase of individual and social conduct. Mission activity and general development have caused some to disappear or have lessened the immediate consequences of infractions, minsem, but enough remain with sufficient sanction to influence the whole of day-to-day life.

681 A nsem, a breaking of a prohibition, has various consequences, ranging from a slight illness to death, and almost always carrying with it public reprobation. The nsem may be unconscious, the culprit being unaware that his act was taboo for him, either because he had not been taught so or because the étyi had been imposed without his knowledge by a magician.

784 Some bityi appear to be connected with totemism: these are the bityi mekam, protective prohibitions, forbidding members of certain clans to kill certain animals or to eat certain plants. Others are undoubtedly connected with the social structure, like sex or age-grade prohibitions, the breaking of which strike at the family hierarchy. Others may be described as hygienic prohibitions, like those connected with pregnancy, illness, or convalescence. There are prohibitions connected with magic: personal taboos vis-à-vis some animal seen in a dream after a family initiation, or imposed when joining an association; prohibitions pronounced by a magician, often out of revenge; prohibitions undertaken as vows to obtain a specific result. Among the Beti, Binet has known women to impose on themselves certain [431] food etyi for a year, at the end of which time there is a party where they collect many presents from their relatives and friends. This [177] seems to be an innovation and perhaps represents a deviation from certain Catholic practices.

[614] It seems that in former times, following a war or an alliance, or in connection with an awusô relationship, two clans might undertake to respect one another's clan taboo. Besides, married women, although they did not enter the husband's clan, were supposed to some extent to respect its bityi.

783 784 Minsem can be expiated by redemption, nsôâ, according to different rites (étyi, melan among men, évôâ among women), including public confession and sacrifice (for women, the sacrifice is made by father or husband, the woman undergoing severe corporal punishment). /123/

Some personal bityi can be raised (kui étyi = to emerge from a taboo) by a process similar to that of redemption for a nsem. This is never possible in cases of general sexual, age-grade, or clan prohibitions.

797 784 The first Christian converts must have shown genuine heroism in giving up their bityi, since they had to overcome, not only personal fear, sometimes at the cost of real psycho-physiological crises, but also unanimous public obloquy and often the vengeance of their family, which attributed to their minsem all its misfortunes. One might say that only that first generation of Christians succeeded in abandoning the bityi almost completely. The following generations, in much greater numbers, continued to observe quite a few /bityi/, certainly all those that did not openly conflict with the practice of the /new/

784 religion. For several years, exogamic taboos have even been observed
777 to take on new life with a strictness that runs counter to canonical ideas about marriage (cf. above, p. 63).

g. Sorcery and Magic at the Present Time

777 Even in the areas longest converted to Christianity, contemporary
789 Pahouin continue to believe in magic and sorcery, which is, moreover,
797 not contrary to the teaching of the Scriptures. Mbibian̄ compete with European or African bedôkita, mingengan̄ compete with exorcists, mvimvi'i with the police, and so on. Once in a while beyem still kill in order to feed their évu, and I knew a kôn practitioner who tried to make use of his skill so as to win an election.

However, since the coming of the Europeans, magic and sorcery have developed in the direction of a syncretism that is sometimes baroque. Ecclesiastical schisms do not bring about a complete return to ancient practices, but a sort of grafting of what remains onto a Christian stem, to which is often added a facile /à bon marché/ esotericism borrowed from mages and fakirs of metropolitan France. Talismans, perfumes guaranteed to inspire love, and magical jewelry arrive by the hundredweight in each mail from France. Initiations that had died out are being revived in the form of parodies of the Mass or of ordination, or even of hazings often obscene. What was most valuable in the native pharmacopoeia is being more and more neglected in favor of modern preparations used at random, with only the magical aspect surviving, emptied of its old meaning and therefore of its functional character.

Admittedly, Christianity has "caught on" in the country, just as European medicine has—the question is, just how deeply. In any event it is certain that old practices, overthrown as they may have been, survive nonetheless in new form, fluid and changing and still far from stabilized. The result is a continual uneasiness, a crisis in adaptation, of which the outcome is unpredictable.

Leaving aside any religious or ideological position, /124/ it does, however, seem possible to say as of now that one of the most revolutionary contributions of the missions has been to make women participate in the same religious cult as men. [562]

4. Arts and Literature

531 The principal form of plastic art used to be sculpture, in wood or steatite. Aside from masks for associations, especially for the *ngil*, figures of ancestors, full-length figures or simply masks, and figures for ritual ceremonies were carved. Drums, seats, crossbows, sometimes imported chests, were decorated in demirelief. The features of a mask were only slightly indicated, the attitude of figures was rather stiff, while subjects in demirelief, particularly animals, were often very lively.

531 177 The sculptors were initiates of the different rites and with the decline of the latter, traditional sculpture has largely disappeared, to be replaced by work in wood or ivory in the Barbes /?/ or Saint-Sulpice style /the implication of the second is of the commercial religious art sold in shops near the St.-Sulpice in Paris. —Tr./, thanks to the work of schools and missions. An interesting project at the professional school in Ebolowa, under the director, Lecoq, between 1946 and 1950, has had no sequel. However, there are a few indications that allow hope for the rise of a Christian art that will perhaps be original, alongside the commercial sculpture for tourists, which is extremely flourishing.

This conclusion holds good for painting, since some frescoes in Catholic chapels, particularly in Ewôndo country, appear to be manifestations of a new art. Furthermore, painting is at present the popular art *par excellence*, in the form of frescoes inside and outside houses. Aside from religious subjects, one often sees paintings of animals, family scenes, portraits of local or world celebrities. A Boulou from Sangmélima, David Monewoso, has established the features of the heroes of the novel *Nnanga kôn* in numerous frescoes throughout Boulou country. All this constitutes something new, because traditional art made little use of painting in this form. Huts were more likely to be decorated with geometrical figures with an esoteric meaning, in nothing but the three traditional colors, red, black, and white. Drawing was mostly represented by engraved designs, made with burin or red-hot iron on wooden objects, sometimes by charcoal drawings done on walls or rocks.

212 538 Literature was solely oral until the colonial period. It is not, however, accurate to say that the Pahouin were completely ignorant of writing. Aside from the quipu (*biaff zezeghe* —? —, according to

212 Largeau /sic/) and the *mekutu alek*, bundles of little sticks making it possible to communicate in code, they had a kind of pictography, *ntilan*, with tens, if not hundreds, of signs, *mindem*. These we know (insufficiently) from the counters used in the *abia* game, a kind of 524 tarots, used as a game as much as for predicting the future; the pieces 787 were made of the seeds, or rather the pods, of a mimosa common in [illegible] the forest (*Tetrapleura* /125/ *thonningii*, according to Trilles). These signs had a surface meaning, understood by all, and an esoteric meaning, restricted to initiates. They made it possible if not to write down traditions as a whole, at least to draw up a kind of aid to memory to be used by the *beyia bia*. They also enabled scouts to leave messages for a main body of fighters that followed. Each clan, 304 each family had its own *ndem*, sometimes depicted in its tattoo mark, *ndan*, which thus constituted a sort of coat of arms.

538 The old literature included stories or tales, *minlañ*, songs, *bia*, and chronicles, *minkañete*.

Trilles is responsible for collecting most of the tales (no. 165), which often took the form of fabliaux whose hero was none other than Ol' Br'er Terrapin, Kulu (emphatic or personal form of *kul*), the earth tortoise (*Cinyxis erosa*), surrounded by Beme, the wild pig, stupid and gluttonous, Ze, the panther, mean and cunning, its principal [illegible] pal enemy; Zo'o, the elephant, the king of beasts; Abôp, the spider, artful and obliging; and the majority of the other forest animals (except, it seems, snakes, which no one ever likes to mention). Kulu, thanks to his shrewdness, always ends by getting out of the holes in which his caustic spirit or the old hostility between him and Ze have put him. Tales of magicians were also told, or stories about the conjugal mishaps of supposed ancestors. All such tales were in the public domain and were recited by anyone who felt competent. This was also the case with the puzzles and riddles that young people put to one another as a kind of flirtation.

533 Songs, however, were performed by specialists, even aside from ritual or magical songs. Some were used to accompany dances; they represented the most complete form of musical expression, with the tone of the words supposed to fit the music while being related to the movements of the dance. There are still *beyia bia* competent to lead a dance of this kind by improvisation, but they are few and very expensive. There also still exist players of the *mvet* (harp-guitar), whose repertory includes, beside the old sung legends, some modern

533 skits, often satirical, sometimes to the accompaniment of European tunes that have been adapted to the instrument. Choral song, finally, is very popular, using imported tunes that are often considerably improved by the native interpretation which makes extensive use of fugue and counterpoint. Unfortunately, these modern airs are not suited to the tonal system of the language, which they tend to impair when words are adapted to them.

538 173 187 Chronicles, *minkafete*, of which the salutations, *mebatan*, were in a way summaries, were part of traditional training and were recited only on solemn occasions. They are falling into oblivion because of the considerable demands they made upon the memory and because of the time necessary for learning them by heart, without mentioning the fact that they contained incomprehensible passages, perhaps borrowed from tribes that were neighbors of the Pahouin before their great migration. /126/

177 536 The systems of transcription introduced by missionaries were first used to translate the Scriptures and to compose hymns, which have not always had a good effect upon the language but have nonetheless become classics in spite of the mistakes and improprieties they often contain. After these works produced by Europeans in the native language, there have appeared in rapid succession works composed by Pahouin writing in their own language. The most remarkable is without doubt *Nnanga kôn* by the Boulou, Jemba Medu, which describes Boulou life at the time of the arrival of the first white men (*nnanga kôn* = phantom albino). This, to my knowledge, is the only novel composed in one of the languages of the group; its popularity is prodigious, to such a degree that its characters have entered into contemporary Boulou folklore.

204 There is a missionary press in Gabon and in the Cameroons. The papers with the largest circulation are *Nleb Bekristen* (Christians' Guide) (Ewôndo, Catholic) and *Mefoé* (News) (Boulou, Protestant), which is read as far afield as Gabon. The lay press in French is not of much importance and its publications moreover are usually short lived.

536 A Pahouin literature in the French language is a recent — and significant — phenomenon. Oyono and Eza Boto-Mongo Beti are both from the Cameroons; neither Gabon nor Spanish Guinea have up to now produced a novelist.

535 The dance has lost a great deal in being deprived of its old ritual character. Formerly there was a specific dance for every ceremony,

532 rite, and event in life, of which the orchestral element as well as the dance movements and costumes had a very precise symbolical meaning. Many of these dances have died out, either because they have lost their *raison d'être* (as with war and initiation dances, etc.) or because they have been prohibited by the administration and especially by the missions as obscene or pagan (fertility, funeral, medical dances, etc.). Those that survive have now a recreational or purely artistic character, which was only secondary before. It is [533 significant that the number of dances in which both sexes take part 176] has considerably increased and that nearly all are now open to the public and may be seen by spectators of any age or sex.

In spite of this falling off, there is still a large number and variety of dances. Among the most widespread may be mentioned:

ozila, an old fertility dance, especially among the Fang and [534] Ntoumou; an orchestra of vertical drums, *mbae* and *ngom*, with "spoken" accompaniment of the drum-telephone, *nkul*; it is danced by professionals (women initiates of *mevungu*?) with bare torso, vegetable rattles at the ankles, unsewn wildcatskin skirts, wooden masks on the left arm; the leading dancer, *ônua njem*, inserts a horn into her vagina during the dance; the dancers [276] apparently drug themselves with a decoction containing (notably) Indian hemp; the missions have forbidden this dance, and this has provoked several incidents.

menjan, called thus because the dance is accompanied by an orchestra of balafos; it is widespread except, perhaps, among the Boulou; it is performed by the young girls and little girls of a village; each village has its own tune and special costume consisting of a belt of raffia fiber, skirt and cap in "pastry-cook" style in the village colors, with a brassière worn in Christian villages.

535 *ényenge*, sometimes called *njeman fulutita*, a Protestant dance 177 (it must have been inspired by Swedish gymnastics used by a German-American M. P. A. /American Presbyterian mission?/ missionary to provide a substitute for "immoral" dances; *si non è vero*...), found especially among the Boulou but extending into northern Gabon under the aegis of the Movement for Regrouping Pahouin; it is a dance performed by young women and girls with a male leader, *nlebe njeman*, who conducts with a whistle; an orchestra of drums, *nkul*, *mbae*, and *ngom*, rattles

535 177 and flutes; chorus sung by the dancers; white dresses, a uniform headkerchief and foulard sash; the musical themes are those belonging to village, association, and clan; it is danced at civil or religious festivals, *mebôk*, *mevak*, and at *bisulan* (*ayoñ* meetings), etc.; the words are sometimes satirical.

535 *anyeñ*, a men's or (more rarely) a women's dance, similar to the above, perhaps inspired by it, but more lively. The words are often obscene, the gestures scatological (in the men's version); probably of ritual origin; one of the few male dances surviving today.

akôma mba, danced by one or two young women; a chorus of women, with the large vertical drum, *mbaé*; raffia fiber skirt and bare torsos; an ancient ritual (marriage?) dance; it is looked at askance by the missions and is becoming rare.

asiko, a modern mixed dance, quite erotic; no costumes; percussion instruments and rattles; a mixed chorus; it is forbidden by the missionaries.

177 In towns, European or American dances are current under the generic name "tangô," although the rhythm, when they are not danced to a phonograph, is rather that of a /West Indian/ *beguine*, often fugual.

536 The theatre, unknown in the past, is beginning to develop, partly under the influence of youth organizations introduced from outside. At *bisulan*, short farces are often put on, like morality plays, or satirical sketches related to our cabaret revues, in which there is no hesitation in scoffing at the authorities.

Chapter 7

The Process of Change

1. Local Government Organs

631 177 The disintegration characteristic of Pahouin clans makes it difficult to establish a coherent organization. The conflict between the system of personal rights and that of territorial rights is clear-cut:

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177 insofar as he accepts an authority higher than that of the head of the family a Pahouin is dependent upon the head of his *ayoñ*, who may live several hundred kilometers away. This authority had a sacred character and was based on laws of consanguinity. In addition, there were, even before the coming of the Europeans, other influences at work, tending to group people no longer on a basis of kinship but on that of local relations. Among the Fong of the Cameroons, for instance, as early as 1880, a chief had brought together under his control families that belonged to different clans and involved them in expeditions against Maka villages. From among the conquered he chose some young children for himself, brought them up, and saw them settled, creating thus, outside his consanguineal family, and even outside his tribe, a group of people devoted to his person.

Therefore, upon the power of the clan there was superposed an authority that assumed an interclan and even intertribal character. Among the Beti peoples of the Yaoundé region nearly the same system was in effect. The clans had more coherence than among the Fang or the Boulou. But the chief controlled, in addition to his own *mvog*, conquered families, *beloa* or *beloa bitoa*, to whom he assigned land along the margins of his domain.

The transition from a system of authority based on the law of consanguinity to a territorial one is already apparent.

In the face of Pahouin lack of political order, which nullified all attempts at organization, Europeans unconsciously tried to reinforce the trend toward a territorial system of authority.

671 Since the period of the great invasions, in fact, the *jus soli* has been authenticated as a basis of authority, while /the application of/ the *jus sanguinis* involves a thousand difficulties and makes it almost impossible to govern.

By a curious paradox, nevertheless, the presence of Europeans favored legal principles opposed to those they might have desired. The tribal wars brought about a regrouping around the victor and enabled him to carve out a domain /*seigneurie*/. The chaotic Pahouin migrations strained clan ties: what family relationships can survive a lengthy separation, /129/ particularly when journeys are rare and dangerous? These factors would have brought about the creation of territorial entities. Peace, on the other hand, which allowed the resumption of relations, improved mobility, and per-
621 mitted individual freedom, favored a return to the law of consanguinity; the individual person, whether young man or head of a

177 family, had a profound sense of being a member of a community
621 scattered over several thousand square kilometers, whereas he did not
631 feel strongly bound to his neighbor who belonged to another *ayoñ*.

The German colonial administration divided the country up into
648 large chiefdoms as a solution to this difficult problem, a possible
631 solution if the country had not been an ethnic as well as a clan maze.
If the territory of the large tribes—Boulou, Bané, Ewôndo, etc.—
had been a little more homogeneous, it would have been conceivable
to entrust each region to a chief, at a higher level than that of clan
allotments. But the confusion of peoples and their wide dispersion
made any solution precarious. Authority was not always accepted
without demur, and among populations with anarchistic tendencies
it is not easy to build up a ruling class /*aristocratie*/ sufficiently sure
of itself not to perpetrate abuses. There was no time for the system
of large appanages to take root. Chiefs of cantons and village chiefs
both rule over more limited but clear-cut territories; as representatives
of the principle of *jus soli* their influence view with that of the clan
movements embodying the *jus sanguinis*.

631 In Gabon, Pahouin leaders had the idea of mingling the two
tendencies. Starting with the assumption that the villages were too
668 small, they sanctioned a regrouping which would have allowed both
stronger chiefdoms and a beginning of reassembling of clans.

The regrouping of the *meyoñ* does not seem to have been planned as a whole, nor does it seem that a territorial base had been thought of for each clan, which would have resolved, for the time being at least, the conflict between the law of things /*droit réel*/ and the law of persons /*droit personnel*/. Only a partial solution was considered: the establishment of large, single-clan villages (1). In fact, and in spite of the endless difficulties connected with the transfer of population, the regrouping was able to give to the chiefdom a new prestige, by confirming its character as a territorial power on the one hand, and by binding it, on the other hand, to the *meyoñ* traditions. In the present state of affairs, cantons and even villages

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1. J. Aubame, *Renaissance gabonaise* /Renaissance in Gabon/, Brazzaville, 1947 (no. 171); Balandier and Pauvert (no 177).

631 include representatives of all the clans. Who then could exercise 668 authority over such a motley population, if they were to follow purely traditional rules? Various methods are used for selecting chiefs. In one place people adhere to investing the legitimate heir of the lineage of the village founder. Elsewhere, a representative of the largest ayoñ is sought. Quite often, particularly in the Cameroons, the choice of chief by /130/ election is believed to allow the population to express their views, whatever the motives of selection may be. Will the village regrouping movement permit the establishment of a new, better-adapted system? A blaze of enthusiasm has gripped the Fang people, convinced that the new system will make it possible to solve all problems as by a magical formula, without sacrificing either traditional forms or individual anarchy.

In the Cameroons a few years ago the movement to regroup the meyoñ appeared just as likely to bring an end to all difficulties. More bound up with traditional institutions, the meyoñ organization movement set out simply to give some order to the intellectual and moral /behavioral?—Tr./ life of groups by codifying customs, taking note of traditions, and creating a collective awareness, a common clan sentiment, through periodic meetings, dances, and songs. In contrast to the movement in Gabon, the bisulan movement hardly touches upon the concrete, the economic field.

It is worth emphasizing that this movement did not question the administrative division into regions and subdivisions. The bisulan do not in fact seem to have voiced any criticism of this distinction, and the population of Dja-and-Lobo even expressed a lively wish to see Sangmélima raised to regional status and separated administratively from the N'Tem region.

In fact, though local organization at the lowest levels may not have found its bearings, at a higher level it seems to have become thoroughly incorporated in the country. When they reached Pahouin 648 country, the European powers—France, Germany, Spain—set up a 631 network of resident posts for the representatives of authority. In this country without crystallizing centers, the main town of a subdivision has become a town with a town's multiple functions, administrative, judicial, cultural (missions and schools), economic (road station, [484 489] trade). A study of the journeys made by the rural population of the southern Cameroons shows clearly that these towns are no longer artificial centers but genuine points of attraction. The capital of

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631 their subdivision is the goal of 37 percent of travelers. The motives
484 indicated vary greatly: people go there for reasons connected with their jobs (1.3%), for medical care (2%), to attend to matrimonial affairs (9.5%), to visit relatives (10.5%), merely for their own pleasure (23%), to attend to business connected with the public services (civil status /état civil/, law, various public departments, in 45% of the cases). There is no need to underline the importance of contacts with
647 the administration. So in the Cameroons it has been thought necessary
631 to decentralize the administrative machinery further and to place it within reach of the people. The establishment of new subdivisions within the Yaoundé region and of administrative posts in Boulou country demonstrate this attitude. All this takes place as if the Pahouin, in vague resentment /131/ against the inadequacies of their traditional organization, were trying to replace them with new and foreign institutions.

In order to prevent the population from totally committing its fate into the hands of the European organization and thereafter refusing to make any personal effort at improving their condition, the French administration has attempted, at the same time as it distributed authority throughout the country, to remove concentration at the center. Though it was beneficial to multiply the agents of the central power in contact with the population, it was even more necessary to give the people or their representatives the opportunity to manage public services and to organize the collective life.

692 Civil law was, therefore, largely decentralized. In addition to
698 the first- and second-degree courts at which subdivision or regional heads /chefs de... —the implication here is of French colonial officials. —Tr./ made decisions based on custom, assisted by African assessors, there were created a great many "customary" courts whose judges were not officials. In the majority of cases, chiefs were thus appointed as presidents of customary courts, with prominent men and secretaries to help them. The number of cases dealt with allows us to believe that the reform has been beneficial. Though the nature of the suits has no bearing on the local government organization, it
691 should, nevertheless, be mentioned for the light it throws on the points of friction that exist between individuals.

In the Cameroons the distribution was as follows: divorces, 38 percent; liberation of widows, 6 percent; adultery, 9 percent; real property rights, 17 percent. These represent the principal disputes; the probable maladjustment of matrimonial institutions provides the main portion.

631 651 623 Next, the establishment of urban and rural municipal councils permits financial decentralization. Towns under the term "urban communes," cantons, and sometimes whole subdivisions under the term "rural communes," received a legal character, with a domain to manage and a budget to fix. Elected councilors under an appointed mayor had to study plans for road works, to set up construction or maintenance programs, inquire into taxes? /taxes/ and assessments /impôts/, and have an eye to a sound financial position.

In towns this was nothing new, but its extension to wide rural areas was an experiment. Boulou or Beti country, where there was no risk of these new methods giving offense to a strong traditional /social/ structure, was the ideal place for trying out a new /kind of/ organization.

[565] Throughout the elections arranged to fill the posts of councilor, we can see crystallizing the most striking traits of the new élite, the characteristics of the aristocracy or oligarchy that will get itself into power.

Pessimists had expressed fear that such elections, based on almost universal suffrage, would overthrow the classical social values and impair the prestige of the present acting élite.

This point of view disregarded the fact that in a country practically [626] without stratification, no one can keep authority without the support of public opinion. /132/ Granting the vote to vassals in a feudal society may unsettle the power of the nobility. It is quite otherwise [622] here, where chiefs of village or canton are most commonly chosen by election.

561 623 The older men have preserved a privileged position vis-à-vis the younger generation. A comparison of the age pyramid of councilors with that of the adult male population as a whole readily shows this (table on following page).

The younger generation is poorly represented. Mature men of thirty to forty are represented in proportion to their ratio in the total population; but men of forty to fifty or of the older age group are heavily represented. Electoral influence has not been seized by the younger men.

[565 556] Neither does it appear that the poorer class, more numerous than the rich, has benefited from the ballot so as to eliminate the latter. From the point of view of the possession of a certain amount of wealth, we can assert that municipal councilors are much better off than the common people.

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Distribution by Age

Age Group	Elected Municipal Councilors	Total Adult Male Population (1) (Nyong-and-Sanaga)
	Percent	Percent
20 to 30 years	9	26
30 to 40	33	29
40 to 50	37	28
Over 50	20	15

1. Evaluation made according to censuses established by the subdivisions; the documentation is not faultless but nevertheless is indicative.

556 The figures given below for the whole population are not definitive,
162 but as they have been taken from a recent complete census they may
623 be considered good approximations.

Distribution of External Signs of Wealth
(for 100 persons)

	Masonry Houses	Bicycles	Automobiles
	Percent	Percent	Percent
Municipal councilors	27	50	11
Adult male population of Ebolowa	1.4	21	0.3

[622] Not for nothing do the Pahouin use the word nkukuma (rich) to designate a chief. The chosen leaders are the rich men. /133/

595 A study of the matrimonial situation enables us to be more specific
623 about the personal characteristics of elected men. Polygamy is much more common among them than among the population as a whole.

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Distribution According to Matrimonial Status

	Municipal Councilors	Sample of the Total Population of the Boulou and Beti Area (1)
	Percent	Percent
Polygamous	43	23
Monogamous	43	63
Unmarried	3	14

1. A random sample taken for the study of family budgets, 1954, op. cit.

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556 That councilors are often polygamous is to be explained in terms of their relatively advanced age and their wealth.

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463 As elderly possessors of wealth and polygamous, do the elected men embody all the traditional ways in contrast to a progressive younger generation? An examination of occupations, of educational level, and of religion reveals that the actual situation is more complex.

Distribution by Occupation

	Municipal Councilors	Adult Male Population of the Nyong and Sanaga Region (2)
	Percent	Percent
Chiefs	30	1.8
Planters	30	85
Office-holders	14	0.5
Trade employees	3	1
Traders	10	7
Craftsmen	5	?
Catechists, mission monitors	2	2.3

2. According to the annual administrative report; approximations are involved, Yaoundé-Ville being excluded.

623 463 871 If we set up an index of electoral power based on the percentage in councils and the percentage in the total population, we come to the conclusion that office-holders are very much on top (70). Chiefs come next (17), then trade employees (3), and traders (1.4). Distribution in terms of educational level confirms the influence of educated people /*intellectuels*/ that could be guessed at from the occupational table. /134/

Distribution by Educational Level

623 871

	Municipal Councilors	Adult Male Population of Nyong and Sanaga Region
	Percent	Percent
Illiterate	10	75
Literate in local language	9	?
Literate in French	60	17
Holders of the C.E.P. *	10	8 (1)
Holders of higher diplomas	2.4	0.3
Worthless figures **	8	--

1. The regional statistics give "primary completed," not "C.E.P."; the nuance may mean a great deal. A survey of the urban population of Ebolowa gives a lower rate: 6.4 percent of certificate-holders.

/* *Certificat d'études primaires*, certificate of primary education./

/** Ambiguous: *Fiches inutilisables* may refer to the quality of the statistics or to the use of meaningless initials after an individual's name. --Tr./

The tremendous influence of holders of higher diplomas is obvious, so that uneducated people are almost eliminated, although they are still numerous.

Thus this new élite crystallizing out of the municipal elections appears to be made up of men who are both traditionalist and modern.

66 871 The men who compose it, older men, rich, practicing old-fashioned polygamy, have had an academic training. We must not be deceived —in this country there is no real gulf between office-holders and chiefs.

Thus municipal councils can allow an élite class to rise to the surface and assume responsibilities.

2. The Pahouin and the Future

181 Shaped by their history, the Pahouin owe to it their positive qualities and their defects.

From having been conquerors, or more accurately, from having been successful in establishing themselves in new lands, they have retained a certain pride and self-confidence. Without being violently xenophobic, they preserve toward foreigners a friendly but the least bit contemptuous attitude, such is their feeling of superiority.

They had the good fortune to have been exposed very early to Christianity and to schools, at least in the Cameroons. Because they are intelligent—tests given to school pupils in the Cameroons show that the Boulou come out on top, along with the Bamoun—they have provided the administration and trade with a large part of their personnel and, when they emigrate, they do not join the unskilled labor force but provide specialized personnel, often salaried workers. This indicates the power of the Pahouin.

Finally, thanks to cacao, they have acquired a certain amount of wealth and live in some degree of comfort. This indicates their basic role in the economy. It also indicates their influence upon local finance. In the Cameroons as in Gabon, the Pahouin country is a rich area, whose exports and imports supply a significant portion of the economy. /135/ The Pahouin, therefore, play an essential role in the life of these territories, and they are able to obtain superior services for their region. There are already many roads, schools, and dispensaries.

But their traditional lack of organization impedes them in certain occupations. They despise trade and are only moderately successful in it, because their natural anarchy does not dispose them toward taking advantage of partnership or of market organization. The absence of urban centers is even more of an obstacle: the town is a new phenomenon, where immigrants are numerous and have been able to create stable situations for themselves, since there were no precedents.

[illegible] It is true that this absence of former organization among the Pahouin leaves them free to adopt modern forms without difficulty or compunction. For them democracy is not a seed of revolution, as it would be for a feudal society. Democracy goes their way. We may, therefore, hope that this system will make possible among them the rise of new élites.

J. B.

/137/ Concise Analytical Bibliography

113 In addition to the works indicated below, the following periodicals,
114 among others, should be referred to:

. . . .

Bulletin de la Société d'Études camerounaises, at present the Cameroons section of the I.F.A.N. /Institut Français d'Afrique Noir/. (B.S.E.C.)

. . . .

And from the local press, among others:

Radio-Presse du Cameroun: has published stories and, in 1949-50, an open debate upon marriage problems.

. . . .

For the Cameroons, the Annual Reports to the League of Nations, then to the United Nations, contain a great deal of material, especially on social, political, and economic development; see also the publications of the O.M.S. /?/

Many of the works mentioned contain bibliographies, in part included below; see particularly Trilles (no. 166), Dugast (no. 133), Balandier (no. 175), Baumann and Westermann (no. 5), Leroi-Gourhan and Poirier (no. 25), *Encyclopedie de l'Union française* (nos. 37 and 38).

The archives of the colonial government, in the /local/ posts as well as in the political offices of /district/ headquarters, constitute a very rich source, partly exploited for Gabon by Balandier, for the Cameroons by Binet, Madame Dugast, and Sister Marie-André of the Sacred Heart. Further, J.P. Nicolas has microfilmed for the I.F.A.N. /Institut Français d'Afrique Noir/ certain material preserved at Yaoundé. /138/

5. Baumann, H., and Westermann, D. *Les peuples et civilisations de l'Afrique* /The Peoples and Civilizations of Africa/. Paris, Payot, 1948. 605 pp., ill.

In Baumann's view the "Fan" are a people of Sudanese origin who came from the Upper Sangha and mingled with the Bantu inhabitants of the invaded region; linguistically Bantu; culturally placed in the group of "North Congo peoples."

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114 13. Compiègne, Marquis de. L'Afrique équatoriale. I. Gabonais, Pahouins, Gallois; II. Okenda, Bangouens, Osyéba. Paris, Plon, 1875. 2 vols. of 360 pp., ill.

Monsieur de Compiègne is ironical about "Duchaillu," the particle of whose name induces in him suspicion of his sincerity. He is mistaken.

17. Du Chaillu, P. Explorations and Adventures in Equatorial Africa. London, John Murray, 1861.

Alongside exaggerations which sometimes come near to being jokes, the book contains very exact and very valuable observations of the Fang invasion.

21. Horn, A. Trader Horn., La Côte-d'Ivoire (sic) aux temps héroïques /The Ivory Coast—sic—in the Heroic Period/. Paris, Stock, 1932. 303 pp.

Old Horn was a much more daring liar than Du Chaillu; nevertheless, his memoirs are interesting just because they are those of a "trader." /139/

25. Leroi-Gourhan, A., and Poirier, J. Ethnologie de l'Union française /Ethnology of the French Union/. Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1953.

This has the Fang coming from Bahr-el-Ghazal (following Bowditch, Gautier, and Vallois).

30. Richard-Molard, J. "Groupements ethniques et civilisations nègres d'Afrique /Ethnic Groupings and Negro civilizations of Africa/," Cahiers d'Outre-mer, 1952, no. 17.

A brief and very good analysis of the results of the "ayon regrouping" movement.

41. Cottes, A. La mission Cottes au Sud-Cameroun (1905-1908). Paris, Leroux, 1911. 254 pp., ill.

Anthropological information and photographs. /140/

46. Grebert, F. Au Gabon /In Gabon/. Paris, Société des Missions évangéliques, 1948. (3rd ed.), 237 pp., ill.

This deals primarily with the Fang of the Ogooué; good illustrations.

48. Largeau, V. Encyclopédie pahouine /Pahouin Encyclopedia/. Paris, E. Leroux, 1911. 700 pp.

In spite of the criticisms of Father Trilles, who accuses Largeau of not knowing the Fang language and of having an uninitiated "boy," the Encyclopédie is still a mine of invaluable information, often more accurate than that of Trilles.

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114
51. Pedrals, D. P. de. "L'origine des Fang /The Origin of the Fang/," *Tropiques*, 1952, vol. 50, no. 348.

A version of traditional history collected from prominent persons in the southern Cameroons, some of whom were our own informants. Hard to use because of faulty transcription of certain names.

54. Tessmann, G., and Wasmuth, E. *Die Pangwé, Volkerkundische Monographie eines westafrikanisches Negerstammes* /The Pangwe, An Ethnological Monograph on a West African Negro People/. Berlin, Hansa verlag für mod. Literatur, 1913. 2 vols., 275 and 402 pp., ill.

The *summa* on the group as a whole, including "Pahouinized" neighbors. It would be worth translating, even after a half century.

55. Trezenem, Edouard. "Notes ethnographiques sur les tribus Fan du Moyen Ogooué /Ethnographic Notes on the Fang Tribes of the Middle Ogooué/," *Journal de la Société des Africanistes*, 1936, vol. VI.

One of the best recent works on the Fang of Gabon; unfortunately the transcription of certain words makes them unrecognizable. /141/

68. Good, A. I. *Bulu Handbook Supplement*. Elat, Halsey Memorial Press, 1934. 131 pp.

The only work to give a glossary of exclamatives, descriptives with *ne*, which play an important role in the oral literature.

70. Greenberg, J. "Etude sur la classification des langues africaines /A Study of the Classification of African Languages/," B. I. F. A. N., P., vol. XVI, nos. 1-2 (Jan. -April, 1954), pp. 83-142; vol. XVII, nos. 1-2 (Jan. -April, 1955), pp. 59-108. Ill.

There is no specific reference to the Pahouin group, which appears to be included in the Nigero-Congo /language/ family.

71. Guillemin, L. "Le tambour d'appel des Ewondo /The calling drum of the Ewôndo/," B. S. E. C., 1948, nos. 21-22, pp. 69-84.

Indispensable to a study of the *nkul*; it contains many *mindan* (indicative) notations, words, and music.

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114
72. Guthrie, Malcolm. *The Classification of Bantu Languages*. London, Oxford University Press, 1948.

This classes the Pahouin language in Zone A, Group 60 of Bantu. It ascribes as characteristics the absence of size-gender (inaccurate, for there is Class *ô/a* for small objects, Class *a/me* for collectives and for large objects) and the absence of the correlation of gender with idea (inaccurate).

77. Homburger, Lysias. *Le langage et les langues* /Speech and Language/. Paris, Payot, 1951. 256 pp.

This describes the "leapfrog" advance of the Pahouin. It places their languages in a separate family, close to, but different from, that of the coastal Bantu languages of northern Congo.

78. Homburger, Lysias. *Les langues négro-africaines et les peuples qui les parlent* /Negro-African Languages and the Peoples Who Speak Them/. Paris, Payot, 1941. 350 pp.

Classes the Pahouin languages in a group intermediate between the Sudanese and Bantu.

79. Lejeune, R.P. /Rev. Father?/. *Dictionnaire français-fang, précédé de quelques principes grammaticaux sur cette même langue*. Paris, Faivre & Teillard, 1892. 347 pp.

Like nearly all such works of the period this follows too closely the grammar and syntax of French and Latin. /142/

81. Martrou, L. *Lexique fân-francais*. Paris, Procure générale, n. d.

A "Catholic Fang" transcription which cannot be reproduced on the universal keyboard; it does not give tone levels; has about 3, 500 words.

84. Stoll, A. *La tonétique des langues bantu et semi-bantu du Cameroun* /The Tone System of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages of the Southern Cameroons/. Paris, n. d. Memorandum No. IV of the I. F. A. N. Center, Cameroon, 1955. 172 pp., 2 tabls.

In addition to a new theory of tone levels, this has interesting suggestions about the *so* and *melan* rites, with an account of the theory of double symmetry, which is supposed to underlie Pahouin cosmogony.

93. Binet, J. *Budgets familiaux des planteurs de cacao au Cameroun* /Family Budgets among the Cacao Planters of the Cameroons/.

113
114 Paris, C.S.R.S.O.M., "L'Homme d'outre-mer" series, no. 2, 1956. 154 pp., ill.

Research done in the southern Cameroons in 1955-56. This is comparable with the work of Sautter and Balandier in northern Gabon.

98. Grebert, F. *Monographie ethnographique des tribus Fang, Bantous de la forêt du Gabon* /Ethnographic Monograph on the Fang Tribes, Bantus of the Gabon Forest/. Geneva. Manuscript, 36 pls., 719 drawings.

This unfortunately unpublished work constitutes the best pictorial representation of the Pahouin peoples. One of the six copies can be consulted in France, at the library of the Evangelical Missions. /143/

109. Bearth. "Le nsig-n'to, ancienne coutume Bane /Nsig-n'to, An Old Bane Custom/," Togo-Cameroun, January, 1930, pp. 313-332, ill.

The high judge *nsig-nto* was perhaps a high-ranking *ngil* dignitary.

110. Bertaut, M. *Le droit coutumier des Boulou* /Customary Law of the Bulu/. Paris, Domat-Montchrestient, 1935. 308 pp.

In spite of the title this book deals not only with the Bulu but also with their northern neighbors, including the Ewôndo; there is a detailed description of the *sô* ceremony, a good study of juridical customs and also of living habits.

119. Koch, H. "Le petit bétail chez les Badjoué et Bikélé de Messaména /Small livestock among the Badjue and Bikele of Messamena/," *Bulletin de la Société d'Études camerounaises*,

This gives concrete examples of the progressive "Pahouinization" of the border tribes (here under Bulu influence). /144/

120. Mba, L. "Essai de droit coutumier pahouin /Essay on Pahouin Customary Law/," *Bulletin de la Société de Recherches congolaises*, 1938, no. 25, 46 pp.

An interesting essay by one of the Fang political leaders in Gabon.

122. Panyella, A., and Sabater, J. "Esquema de la antroponimia Fang de la Guinea española desde el punto de vista etnologico /Outline of Fang Nomenclature (?) in Spanish Guinea from the Ethnological Point of View/," A.I.E.A., 1955, VIII, no. 34.

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The most recent study of the anthroponymy /nomenclature?/ and rules for name giving; interesting observations on the designation of segments and lineages by the name of a female ancestor.

125. Zoll'Owambe, Ch. "Visage africain d'une coutume indienne et mélanésienne /An African Aspect of a (North American) Indian and Melanesian Custom/." *Bulletin de la Société d'Études camerounaises*, 1947, nos. 19-20, pp. 55-60.

A description of the *bilaba* potlatch, somewhat marred by confusions in the translation of salient points.

126. X.... "Tenue de palabre /Discussion Session/." B.S.E.C., 1947, nos. 19-20, pp. 141-146.

An extract from the archives of the Ambam subdivision; observations by Ntumu and Mvae men of standing on marriage customs and their evolution.

133. Dugast, I. "Inventaire ethnique du Sud-Cameroun /Ethnic Inventory of the Southern Cameroons/." *Mémoires* of the I.F.A.N. (Cameroons Center), "Populations" Series, no. 1, 159 pp., ill.

The most recent synthesis of the subject. It is to be regretted that the same work could not have been done for Gabon and Guinea. /145/

147. Allegret, E. "Les idées religieuses des Fang /The Religious Ideas of the Fang/." *Revue d'histoire des Religions*, vol. 50, 1904, pp. 214-233.

An interesting note on the religious "defeatism" which the Fang seem to have experienced especially after contact with Europeans.

151. Garnier, C., and Fralon, N. *Le fétichisme en Afrique noire* /Fetishism in Black Africa/. Paris, Payot, 1951.

Some notes on the rites of the Cameroons Pahouin.

152. Guillemin, R.P. Le rite "ésye." B.S.E.C., 1948, nos. 23-24, p. 71.

An excellent description of a purification rite among the northern tribes. Interesting notes on practices of divination.

153. Jemba Medu. *Nnanga Kon*. Elat, Halsey Memorial Press, n.d.

This novel, which is unfortunately out of print, is a mine of ethnological and linguistic information. Written in rather archaic and learned language, it is quite difficult to read

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114 nowadays. It is to be hoped that it will be translated by a Bulu of today.

155. Lavignotte, H. *L'évur, croyance des Pahouins du Gabon* /The *Evur*, A Belief of the Pahouin of Gabon/. Paris, Société des Missions évangéliques, 1936. 118 pp.

A very full commentary on *ngbwel* sorcery and methods of protection against it. /146/

156. Leroux, L. G. "Etude sur le ngil, confrérie fan /A Study of *ngil*, a Fang confraternity/." Bulletin de la Société de Recherches congolaises, 1925, no. 6.

The author, although thoroughly understanding the judicial and warlike functions of *ngil*, is in favor of its suppression in the interests of public order.

158. Martrou, L. "L'âme fang après la mort /The Fang Soul after Death/." *Anthropos*, VI, 1911.

This bears comparison with the traditions collected by Largeau; Martrou knew the country and the language better, but, like Trilles, his interpretation seems at times to be influenced by his preoccupations as a priest.

159. -----. "Les éki des Fang /Fang *éki*/." Münster. *Anthropos*, I, 1906.

A good study of prohibitions, though far from exhausting the subject.

161. Nassau. *Fetishism in West Africa*. New York, Young Peoples' Missionary Movement, 1904.

Little information relative to the Fang; the author knew primarily the coastal populations.

165. Trilles, H. "Proverbes, légendes et contes fang /Fang Proverbs, Legends, and Tales/." Neufchâtel. *Bulletin de la Société neufchâtelloise de géographie*, Vol. XVI, 1905. 247 pp.

Phonetic transcriptions and translations "omitting what is smutty" (sic). In spite of the cuts this is the most complete collection.

166. -----. *Le totémisme chez les Fân* /Totemism among the Fang/. Münster i. W., Bibliothèque Anthropos, 1912, 653 pp.

This is Father Trilles' *magnum opus*. As in all his works, there are, along with subtle and accurate observations, somewhat risky generalizations and surprising lacunae, which may come from a certain professional slant. In spite of these, Father Trilles remains the great authority on the Fang.

171. Aubame, J. *Renaissance gabonaise* /Renaissance in Gabon/. Brazzaville, 1947.

A program for clan regrouping of Fang villages put forward by the deputy of the second constituency. /147/

175. Balandier, G. *Sociologie actuelle de l'Afrique noire, dynamique des changements sociaux en Afrique centrale* /The Contemporary Sociology of Black Africa, The Dynamics of Social Change in Central Africa/. Presses Universitaires de France, 1955, 510 pp.

The first part of this work, which is devoted to the Fang of Gabon, contributes a new explanation of the social malaise afflicting the Fang and of the attempts at social reconstruction based on tribal regrouping and syncretist cults. It is the best book on the Fang since Trilles, Largeau, and Tessmann.

180. Celine, L. F. *Voyage au bout de la nuit* /Journey to Night's End/. Paris, Denoël, 1932.

The same kind of thing as no. 187 and no. 195.

182. Eza Boto. *Ville cruelle* /Cruel City/. Paris, Editions africaines, n.d., 219 pp.

A good study of the present younger generation, of the attraction of towns and the fear they inspire, and the conflict between generations.

183. Faure, F. *Le diable dans la brousse* /The Devil in the Bush/. Paris, Société des Missions évangéliques, "Je sers," 1953. 165 pp.

These edifying tales contain a good deal of information about the social and family organization of the Fang of Gabon.

187. Marie-André du Sacré-Coeur, Sister. *La condition humaine en Afrique noire* /Man's Fate in Black Africa/, Paris, Grasset, 1953. 260 pp., ill.

Notes on marriage in the southern Cameroons, sometimes a bit farfetched. /148/

191. Mongo Beti. *Le pauvre Christ de Bomba* /The Poor Christ of Bomba/. Paris, R. Laffont, 1956. 370 pp.

A novel concerned with the consequences of Roman Catholic mission activity; often unjust, but indispensable for an understanding of the most recent developments.

113
114

193. Oyono, F. *Le vieux nègre et la médaille* /The Old Negro and the Medal/. Paris, Julliard, 1957. 209 pp.

Oyono belongs to the tradition of the *mvet* players, satirical story-tellers, always harsh and often unjust.

195.. Schweitzer, A. *A l'orée de la forêt vierge* /On the Edge of the Virgin Forest/. Paris, Payot, 1929. 231 pp.

Interesting though rather abbreviated comments on the social disorganization of the Pahouin of the Ogooué and of their reactions to culture contact.

196. X.... *Ekomi, histoire d'un petit Pahouin racontée par lui-même aux enfants d'Europe* /Ekomi, The Tale of a Little Pahouin boy, Told by Himself to European Children/. Paris, Société des Missions évangéliques, 1921.

Conveys a moral.

Fang FH9

6: Alexandre and Binet
101, 131, 563, 619

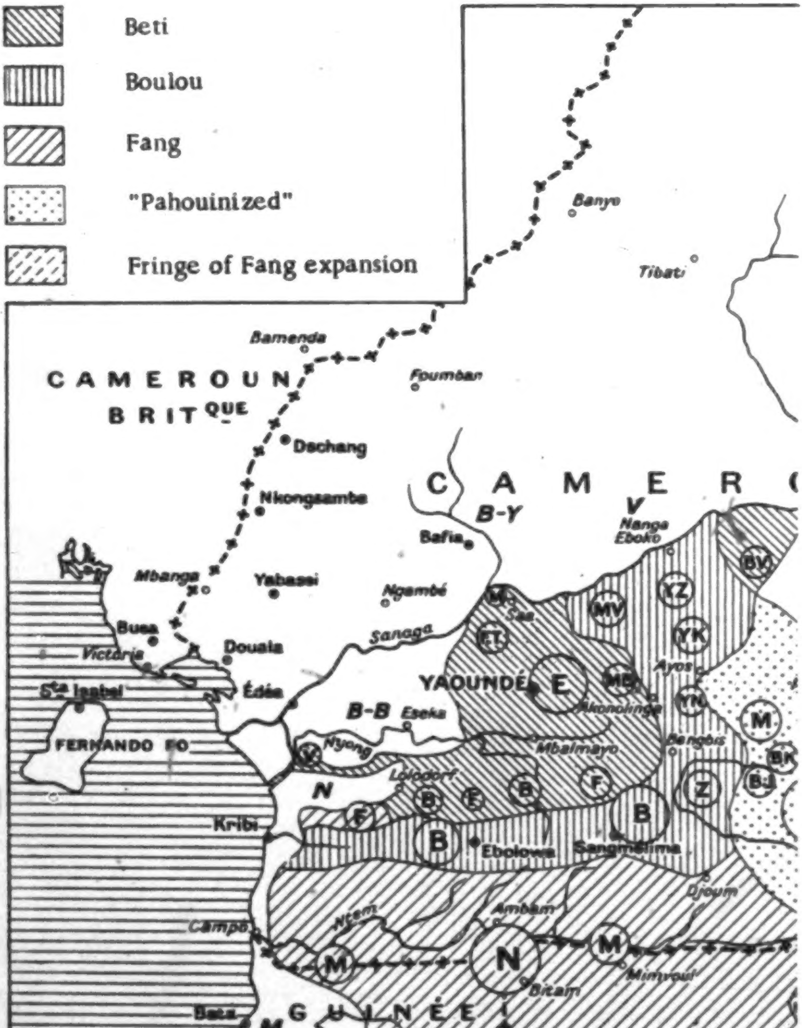
[Chart for sections of end map.]

A	B
C	D

6: Alexandre and Binet-- 182 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

101
131
563
619

The Pahouin Group

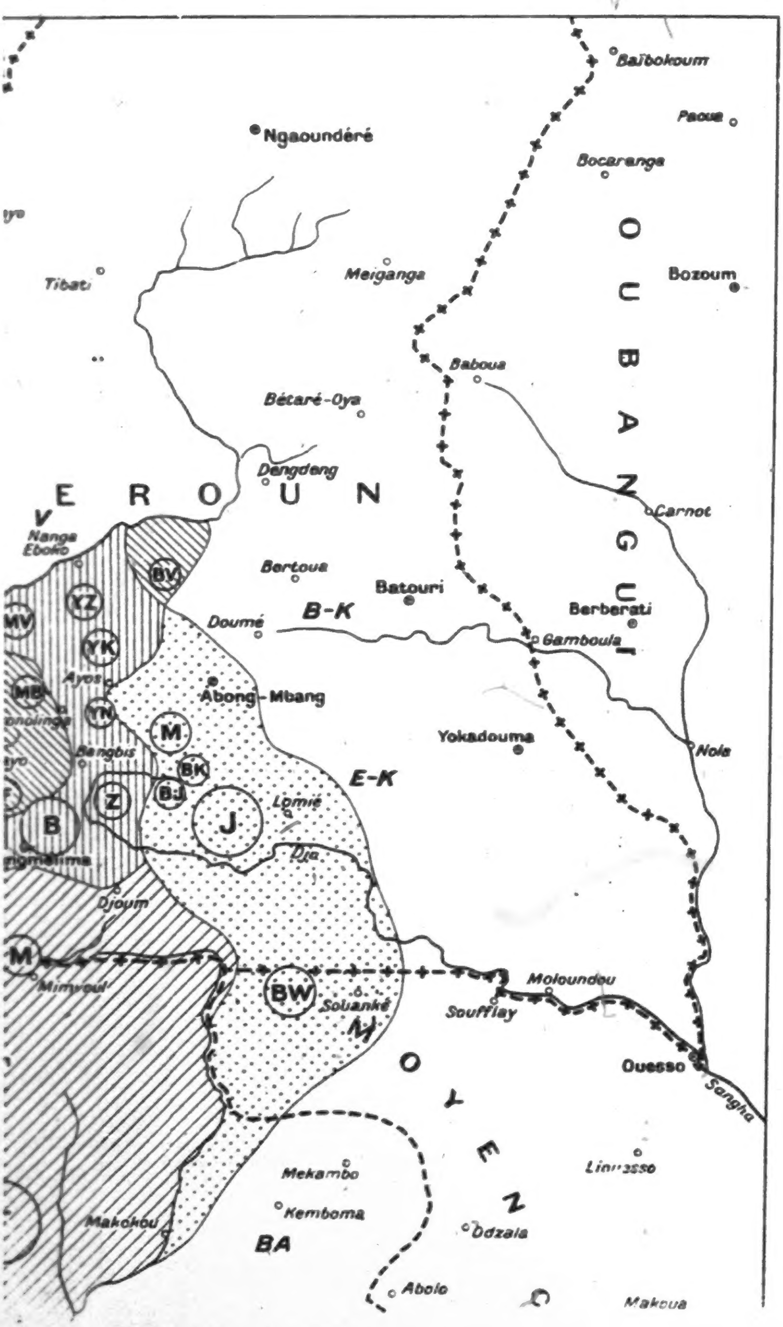

▨ Beti
▥ Boulou
▨ Fang
"Pahouinized"
Fringe of Fang expansion
CAMEROUN BRITQUE
CAMER
Bamenda
Banyo
Tibati
Foumban
Dschang
Nkongsamba
Mbanga
Yabassi
Bafia
B-Y
V
Nanga Eboko
Ngambé
Buea
Victoria
Douala
Sanaga
Édéa
Sta Isabel
FERNANDO PO
B-B
Eseka
YAOUNDÉ
E
M
Saa
ET
MV
YZ
YK
MB
Akonolinga
Ayos
YN
BV
M
BK
BJ
Bengbis
Mbalmayo
Nyong
Y
Lolodorf
N
B
E
B
F
B
Z
F
Kribi
B
Ebolowa
Sangmelima
Djoum
Ambam
Ntem
Campo
M
N
M
Bitam
Minvoul
Bata
M
GUINÉE
Oyem
BI
ESPLE
Coco Beach
Medouneu
F
Médégué
Mitzick
F
Makokou
Lalara
LIBREVILLE
B-Pn
Kango

[End Map (A)]

6: Alexandre and Binet-- 183 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

The Pahouin Group

101
131
563
619

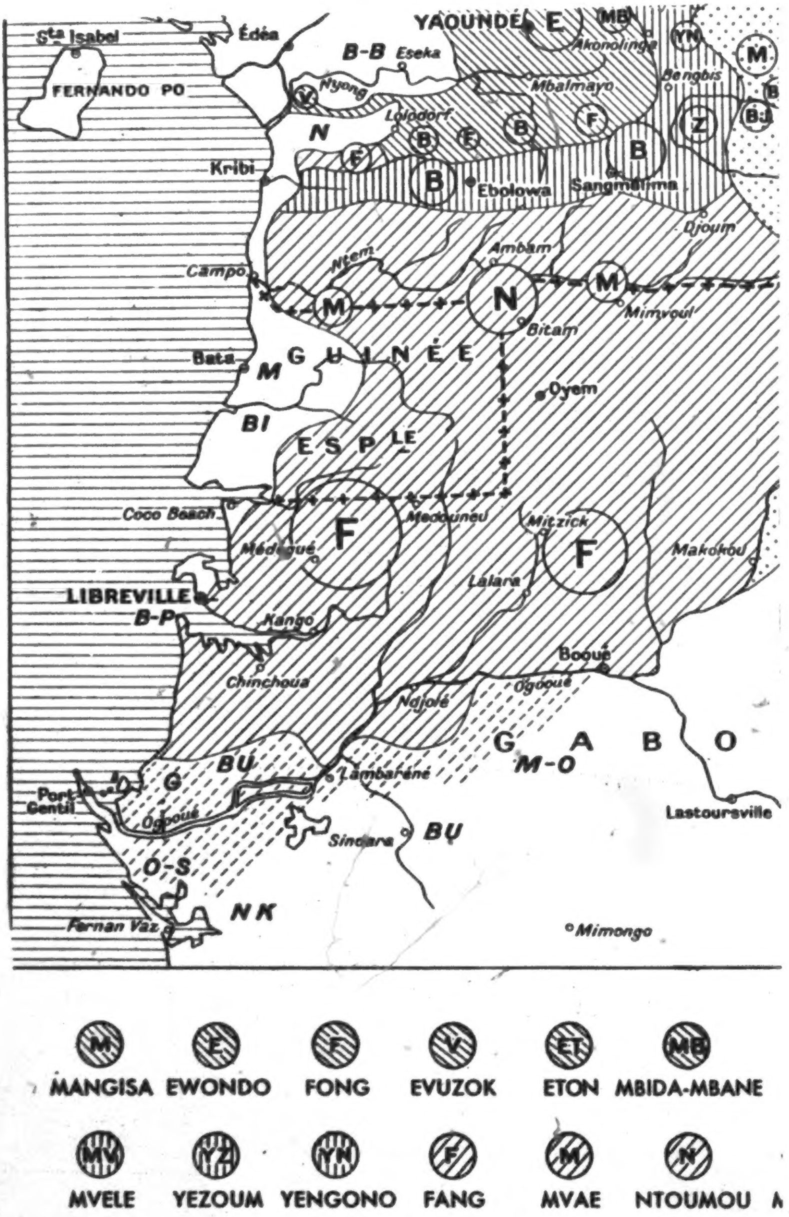


Baïbokoum
Paoua
Ngaoundéré
Bocaranga
Meiganga
Tibati
Bozoum
OUBANGUI
Baboua
Bétaré-Oya
Dengdeng
Carnot
VEROUN
Nanga Eboko
BV
YZ
MV
YK
Bertoua
Batouri
B-K
Berberati
Doumé
Gamboula
Ayos
MB
YN
Abong-Mbang
M
Bangbis
Yokadouma
BK
BJ
E-K
Z
Lomié
B
J
Nola
Dja
Djoum
M
Mimvoul
BW
Souanké
Moloundou
Souffiay
MOYEN
Ouesso
Sangha
Mekambo
Kemboma
Makokou
BA
Dzala
Abolo
Makoua

[End Map (B)]

6: Alexandre and Binet--184 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

101
131
563
619


Sta Isabel
FERNANDO PO
Édéa
B-B
Eseka
YAOUNDE
E
MB
Akonolinga
YN
M
V
Nyong
Mbalmayo
Bengbis
B
N
Lolodorf
B
F
B
F
B
Z
BJ
F
Kribi
B
Ebolowa
Sangmélima
Djoum
Ambam
Ntem
Campo
M
N
M
Mimvoul
Bitam
Bata
M
G U I N É E
Oyem
BI
E S P LE
Coco Beach
F
Médouneu
Mitzick
F
Médégué
Makokou
Lalara
LIBREVILLE
B-P
Kango
Booué
Chinchoua
Ogooué
Ndjolé
G A B O
M-O
BU
G
Lambaréné
Port-Gentil
Ogooué
Lastoursville
Sindara
BU
O-S
NK
Fernan Vaz
Mimongo
M
MANGISA
E
EWONDO
F
FONG
V
EVUZOK
ET
ETON
MB
MBIDA-MBANE
MV
MVELE
YZ
YEZOUM
YN
YENGONO
F
FANG
M
MVAE
N
NTOUMOU

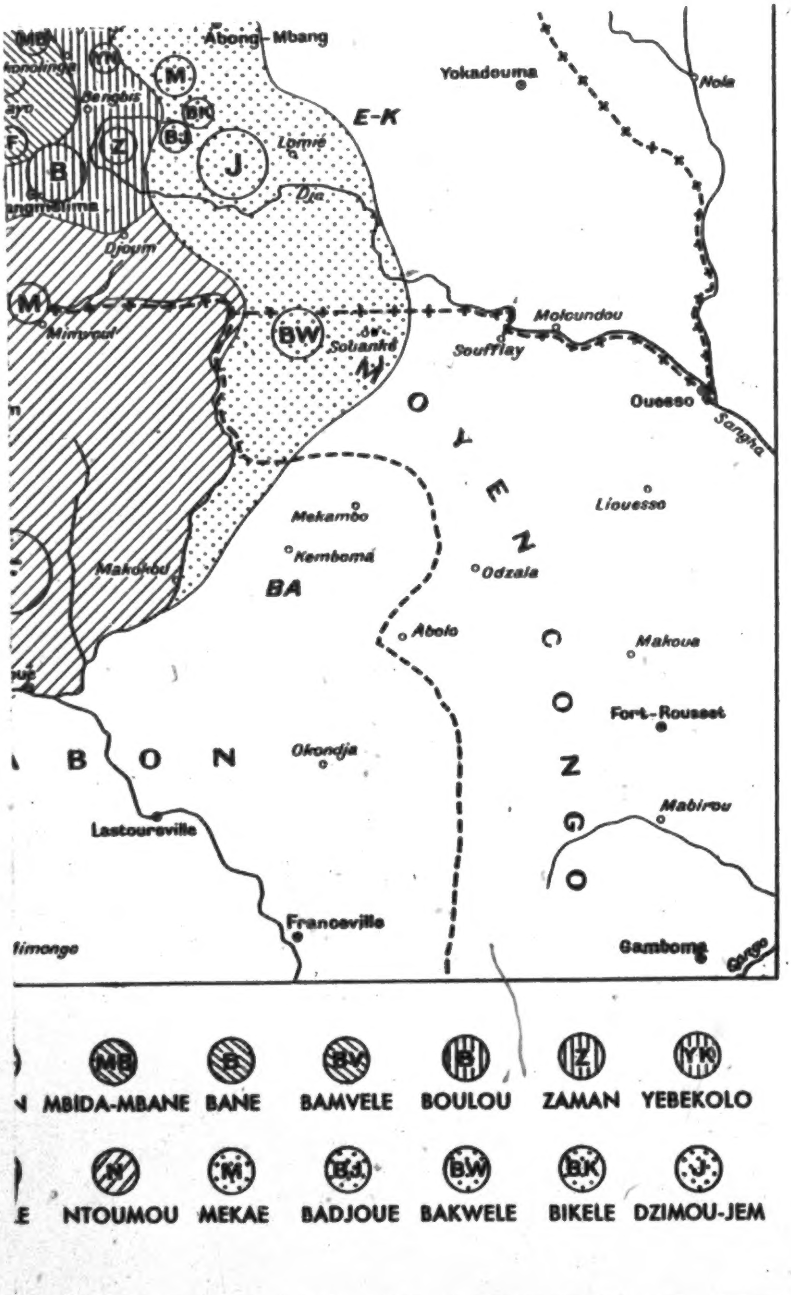
Neighboring Peoples

B-B : Bassa-Bakoko , **B-Y** : Bafia-Yambasa , **V** : Baboutè (Vutéré) , **B-K**
M-O : Mitshogo-Okandé ; **BU** : Bapounou , **NK** : Nkomi , **B-P** : Benga-Pongwé

[End Map (C)]

6: Alexandre and Binet-- 185 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

101
131
563
619


MB
YK
M
BK
BJ
Z
F
B
J
M
BW
Abong-Mbang
Yokadouma
Nola
E-K
Lomié
Djoum
Mintoum
Souanké
Molcundou
Souffiay
Ouesso
Sangha
Dja
N
Mekambo
Kemboma
BA
Makokou
Liouesso
Odzala
Abolo
Makoua
Fort-Rousset
Okondja
Mabirou
Lastoursville
Franceville
Gamboma
Congo
Mimongo
BON
O Y E N
C O N G O
MBIDA-MBANE
BANE
BAMVELE
BOULOU
ZAMAN
YEBEKOLO
NTOUMOU
MEKAE
BADJOUE
BAKWELE
BIKELE
DZIMOU-JEM

uté (Vutéré) , **B-K** : Baya-Kaka , **E-K** : Essel-Konabembé , **BA** : Bakota
-P : Benga-Pongwé , **BI** : Balengi ; **M** : Mabéa ; **BT** : Batenga ; **N** : Ngoumba

[End Map(D)]